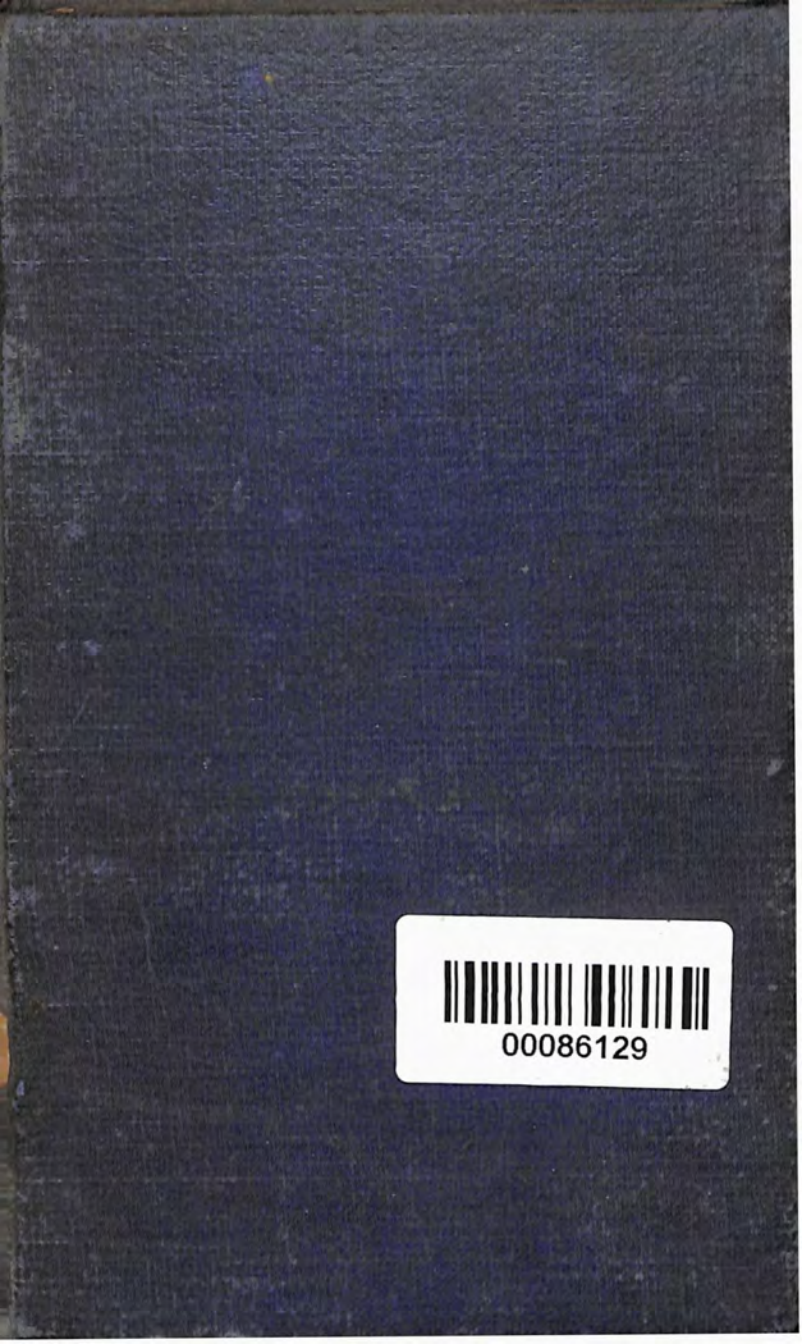
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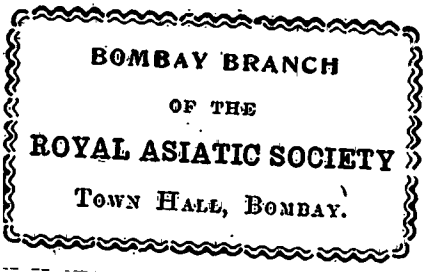

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LETTERS

FROM

A 2529

AMERICA.

BY

JOHN ROBERT GODLEY.

3-La-19

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

86129 ac

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1844.

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TO

CHARLES BOWYER ADDERLEY, ESQ. M.P.,

THE FOLLOWING WORK,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF WHICH HE IS CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE,

IS

INSCRIBED BY THE AUTHOR,

AS

A SLIGHT MEMORIAL OF A LONG AND INTIMATE

FRIENDSHIP.

PREFACE.

It must be confessed that the tone of most of our English travellers in America is at least unfortunate. While the subjects and the styles are varied according to the opinions and pursuits of the authors, while we have grave books and gay books, books political, statistical, agricultural, and abolitionist, — books by Whigs and by Tories, by men and by women, — books differing, in short, in almost every conceivable way, we find but one characteristic common to all, and that is *satire*. We complain in England of the bad feeling that exists in America towards us: if such be the case, can we be surprised at it? The great mass of Americans know us only through the medium of our popular authors; and the observations of these upon America are not, we must allow, of a nature to conciliate a sensitive and irritable people. Take the books of Americans upon England, the works

of Washington Irving, for instance, or those of Willis, Miss Sedgwick, or even Cooper, and compare the spirit and feeling which they evince with that which animates the writings of Hall, Hamilton, Trollope, or Dickens, and I venture to say that the balance of good-nature and friendly feeling (with which alone I have now to do) will be found to be infinitely on the side of the former. I do not mean (far from it) that a traveller should dwell only on the bright side of things in the country which he is describing — that he should delight in drawing contrasts unfavourable to his own country, or that he should not rather look upon all that is hers with a partial eye, and —

> " Be to her faults a little blind,
> Be to her virtues very kind;"—

I mean nothing of this: but I mean that he should gravely and soberly, in a high spirit of goodwill and friendly feeling, argue the points of difference between his hosts and himself; he should try to convince them where he thought them wrong, and adopt their suggestions where he approved of them; and that, under no circumstances, should he run the risk of wounding their feelings and mortifying their pride, by declamatory

vituperation or satirical bitterness. Upon many (I may say, upon most) points my opinions are diametrically opposed to those of the great majority of Americans, as regards their religious, political, and social system; and on those points I shall have no scruple in freely expressing myself, any more than in pointing out where they seem to me to afford us an example for imitation. In both their good and their bad qualities they are generally only exaggerations of ourselves; and it is principally because we see the tendencies of our own age and country carried out and developed in America more boldly than at home that I consider her so interesting a subject of observation to us. Thus, in energy, enterprise, perseverance, sagacity, activity, and varied resources,—in all the faculties, in short, which contribute to produce what is now technically called material civilisation, and which have always, in a peculiar manner, distinguished the British from the continental Europeans, there is no disputing the superiority of the Americans to ourselves. Wherever they have a fair field for the exercise of them, they beat us. Their ships sail better, and are worked by fewer men; their settlers pay more

for their land than our colonists, and yet undersell them in their own markets; wherever administrative talent is called into play, whether in the management of a hotel, or a ship, or a prison, or a factory, there is no competing with them: and, after a little intercourse with them, I was not surprised that it should be so; for the more I travelled through the country, the more was I struck with the remarkable average intelligence which prevails: I never met a stupid American; I never met one man from whose conversation much information might not be gained, or who did not appear familiar with life and business, and qualified to make his way in them. There is one singular proof of the general energy and capacity for business which early habits of self-dependence have produced; — almost every American understands politics, takes a lively interest in them (though many abstain under discouragement or disgust from taking a practical part), and is familiar, not only with the affairs of his own township or county, but with those of the State and of the Union; almost every man reads about a dozen newspapers every day, and will talk to you for hours (*tant bien que mal*), if you will listen

to him, about the tariff, and the bank, and the Ashburton treaty. Now, any where else the result of all this would be the neglect of private business, — not so here; an American seems to have time, not only for his own affairs, but for those of the commonwealth, and to find it easy to reconcile the apparently inconsistent pursuits of a bustling politician and a steady man of business. Such a union is rarely to be met with in England; never on the Continent.

As in many of our good, so in our evil, peculiarities, our American children imitate and surpass ourselves. Are not we too utilitarian and materialistic? Have we not, with some justice, been called a nation of shopkeepers; and do we not serve mammon with too blind an idolatry? Have we not neglected too much the higher branches of art and science, and the cultivation of the æsthetic faculty? Is it not characteristic of modern England to reject authorities, both in church and state, to look with contempt on the humbler and more peculiarly Christian virtues of contentment and submission, and to cultivate the intellectual at the expense of the moral part of our nature? If these and other dangerous tenden-

cies of a similar nature are at work among ourselves (as they undoubtedly are), it is useful and interesting to observe them in fuller operation and more unchecked luxuriance in America; many of them aggravated by her peculiar physical circumstances, and others by the absence of those checks which the traditionary laws and customs of ages, whose habits and faults were of an opposite character, have left to us in England. But in treating of these things we have no need or right to point with the finger of scorn: if there were no other reason, the beam in our own eye is too large.

The very sensitiveness of the Americans to our criticism proves the respect in which they hold us; and (if we did not irritate them by ridicule and violence) the most salutary effects might be produced by it. It is not to be denied that the masses in America look with a far more friendly feeling upon France than upon England; and while I admit that this fact is accounted for, to a great extent, by traditional recollections of the revolutionary war, and a natural feeling of rivalry towards a country engaged in the same pursuits of industry and commerce as themselves, with

which there are infinitely more points of contact, and therefore of probable dissension,—yet, at the same time, I am inclined to think it is also in some measure attributable to the more amicable and sympathetic sentiments which (fully as much as their more dignified and philosophical tone) distinguish French travellers, as compared with English, when writing on the subject of America. If we turn to M. de Tocqueville, or M. Chevalier, we must admit (whether we agree with them or not) that at least they appreciate America better than we do; their imaginations are filled with the destinies of the mighty continent which they are surveying, and their attention occupied with the great experiment of republican institutions which they find there, the results of which they anticipate *as certainly reactive to an important extent* upon Europe; and they have neither time nor inclination to laugh at and "show up" the manner in which the Americans eat their meals, or the posture in which they sit at the theatre, or any such minor peculiarities as in their larger view are lost in comparison with more important features. Now there is no doubt that we have a great many funny and amusing books about egg-

eating, and tobacco-chewing, and all the *crambe decies recocta*, which Mrs. Trollope began, and on which every succeeding traveller has been ringing the changes ever since; but I think I may fairly ask, have we not enough of them? These things are very well in their way, because they are symptomatic and illustrative, to a certain extent, of national character; but they should not be allowed to take so prominent a position. We want some Englishman to give us a counterpart of the sketch which M. de Tocqueville has drawn, in a spirit equally candid and dispassionate, but with that difference in the aspect and the colouring which would naturally be produced by the different points of view from which an Englishman and a Frenchman would regard America. If from this exordium any reader should be led to suppose that I am about to attempt supplying the deficiency which I complain of, he will be sorely disappointed. I have neither energy nor capacity for such a task; and even if I had, the visit which I paid to America was too short, and the materials at my command are too scanty, for me to attempt any thing like a regular and systematic work. In publishing the following letters, I aim at no more than humbly

to point out to others the path which I am unable to tread myself; and I shall be amply repaid if, by enumerating and touching upon a few of the topics which appear to me worthy of attention, I may be the means of increasing the interest of my readers in this great subject, and of suggesting a matured and elaborate consideration of it to some mind capable of treating it worthily and well. My original letters were written without an idea of publication to my relations in Ireland (most of them to my father), during a tour through Canada and the States; and though I have somewhat altered and remodelled them, I have retained the epistolary form, both to save myself trouble, and as well calculated, from its irregular and desultory nature, for carrying out the idea which I have attempted to explain above; it enables me to turn from one subject to another, as the place from which, or the circumstances under which, I wrote, may have happened to dictate or suggest, and to touch upon without "*approfondissant*" a question, in a manner which would appear otherwise frivolous and impertinent. They contain, I know, little that is new, and nothing that is strange or amusing: I did not visit the more remote and

less frequented parts of America; I met with no accident or adventure of any kind; and I had no further means of becoming acquainted with the country and the people than are within the reach of any ordinary traveller with good introductions. Under these circumstances I have, perhaps, no right to publish at all; and, I believe, my best excuse for doing so is the hope that my speculations, however uninteresting to the public, may not be so to the circle of my own acquaintances and friends. A large proportion of these letters, however, may possess some additional interest at this moment, as relating to Canada, in the condition and progress of which I was naturally, as a British subject, even more interested than in that of the United States. Among the thousand "infallible remedies" which are put forward as certain to cure, if adopted, all the disorders of our social state, that of "systematic colonisation" appears to have found the ablest advocates, and excited the greatest attention; so that, perhaps, at this moment, the suggestions and the information which even so superficial a traveller as myself can afford, may not be unacceptable. But I have already said too much about myself and my motives; I cannot,

however, conclude these prefatory remarks without bearing testimony to the remarkable kindness and cordiality which, like all Englishmen properly recommended, I met with, both in Canada and in the States. In such cases all prejudice against our country, all soreness upon the subject of former travellers, is forgotten, and they throw themselves, their houses, and their institutions at once open to the stranger's observation, with such an honest and unsuspicious desire to give him all the information which he requires, that one would think it impossible for the most stern and unscrupulous book-maker to take advantage of their kindness, and then proceed to laugh at and abuse them. I trust that the most sensitive of my American friends will not accuse me of having done so, even where the differences between us are widest and most irreconcilable.

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FROM

AMERICA.

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Boston, July 1842.

We arrived on the morning of the 20th, thank God, all well, after a passage of fifteen days, during which nothing remarkable occurred. We saw one or two icebergs, though it is late in the year for doing so. During the early part of the summer, the channel between the two great "Banks" of Newfoundland is completely studded with them, floating from the polar regions to the

gulf stream, in which they melt; and as fogs are almost perennial in the same locality, there is considerable danger of running foul of them: two or three vessels have been lost in this way this year.

We remained about twelve hours at Halifax, and I had time to walk about the town, and admire the view from the citadel of its beautiful bay and harbour; the latter, especially, is magnificent. The town itself is, I believe, not flourishing; it was made by the war; and has, since the peace, decreased in population. St. John's, New Brunswick, is (to use the nautical phrase) "taking the wind out of its sails;" and Picton, on the northern coast, will probably also prove a formidable rival to the capital, as being the depôt and port of the great and valuable Nova Scotia coalfield. The coal is extremely good, and if it were not subjected to a heavy duty by the American government, would monopolise the market of the north-eastern states. The appearance of the coast about Halifax is bleak and inhospitable enough, but I am told that the scenery in the interior is beautiful, and in many places the soil fertile. The great drawback to the trade and progress of Halifax is the perpetual fog which prevails outside the harbour during the summer months. The Quebec steamer, which came for

Lady Bagot, spent two days at its mouth, unwilling to venture while the fog was so thick upon entering, for the coast is iron-bound, and dangerous in the extreme.

I observed a great number of negroes in Halifax: it seems there is a settlement of them in the neighbourhood, which was established during the war as a depôt for the slaves who ran away from the States, or were carried off in any of the descents which were made on the American territory; and they breed and flourish in a manner hardly to be expected, considering the uncongenial nature of the climate to a race sprung from the tropics. It certainly proves them to be more capable of supporting extremes than white men are. There are also a great number of Indians still left in Nova Scotia, and they constitute the most degraded and corrupted part of the population.

From Halifax to Boston the voyage takes about forty hours; we arrived at the latter place at about twelve o'clock on a beautiful moonlight night, but did not land until the next morning. It is curious and rather discouraging, after our anticipations of the rapid progress of Atlantic steam-navigation, to observe, that as a commercial speculation it has proved a failure, and apparently must do so, unless some method of condensing

fuel be discovered. As it is, the steamers are, as far as freight is concerned, nothing but coal-barges. The Acadia, whose measurement is 1200 tons, carries 600 tons of coal at starting, so that when passengers and stores are stowed away, there is hardly room for any thing but a few parcels; the consequence is, that, depending entirely upon passage-money, and finding that this is not sufficient to pay them, the company has this year applied for, and obtained (upon good cause shewn) a large addition to the grant from the post-office; they receive now, I think, 80,000*l.* per annum. Without this, it would be impossible to maintain the line. The Great Western, though the most fortunate of vessels, has (as I believe it is generally understood) afforded a very small return to her owners, and all the other steamers which have been put upon the American station, have gradually dropped off. Even as to passengers, the "liners," at least the "crack" ships, are said to fill better on an average than the steamers. The prejudice in favour of their superior safety still remains to a great extent, notwithstanding the fact, which ought to be decisive upon this point, that the insurance companies insure in the steamers for half the premium which is required in the case of the best packet-ships (21*s.* 6*d.* per 100*l.* instead of 1*l.* 5*s.*). The former are as good sea-

boats, far more manageable, and cannot be driven on a lee-shore. Almost all the accidents which have happened to them, have been caused by bad pilotage, (except in the case of the President, of which we know nothing,) and yet we still find people talking of the great danger of steam-navigation, particularly in winter. I should prefer trusting to the opinion of the insurance-office agents, the business of whose lives is to calculate risks.

I never enjoyed a day more than the first which I spent at Boston: the mere fact, indeed, of being settled upon terra firma again after such a voyage, would make

> The common air, the earth, the skies,
> To me an opening Paradise.

But, independently of this, there was much to interest and to please. The appearance of the city and its inhabitants is quite as new and strange to an Englishman as that of most continental towns; and the circumstance of hearing his own language among such foreign looking scenes, from the apparent anomaly, rather adds to than diminishes the contrast. The houses are republican-looking, comfortable, but not handsome; nor are there any public buildings at all remarkable or fine. The churches are peculiarly

grotesque, bidding utter defiance to every rule of architecture, and generally painted all the colours of the rainbow; so that, except for their being surmounted by steeples, it would be impossible to guess at their destination. The country about Boston very pretty, studded with green and white villas, and a good deal of garden and dressed ground. The public cemetery at Mount Auburn is (with the exception of the tombs) perfect: it presents every variety of surface and foliage, deep dark glens and sunny glades, large fine trees and beautiful shrubbery and underwood. Many of the trees and shrubs were new to me except as rarities and exotics, and very beautiful, particularly the dark rich sumach, the butter-nut with its parasol-shaped branches, the black walnut, and the tulip-tree. The less said about the tombs the better; they are generally very "classical" and very bad, few bearing, either in symbols or inscriptions, any reference to Christianity.

Near the cemetery is Fresh Pond, famous as the reservoir of the purest and most beautiful ice in the world. One great and universal luxury here is the profusion of ice, which you see in every shop and stall in the market, Every thing iceable is iced; and within the last few years, Fresh Pond ice has become a large and valuable article of export, both to the East and West Indies. Fancy it taking a

voyage round the Cape, and beating the Himalaya ice in the Calcutta markets!

I have been making, since my arrival, several excursions in the neighbourhood; amongst others one (by railroad) to Lowell, a manufacturing town on the Merrimac, twenty miles from Boston. It has sprung up entirely within the last nineteen years, and now contains upwards of 20,000 inhabitants, and produces about one sixth part of the cotton manufacture of the whole Union: there is also a considerable woollen manufacture carried on there. The land on which it stands was taken by a company with a view to this manufacturing speculation in 1823, in consequence of their having observed its peculiar advantages; namely, a water fall of thirty-one feet, and of sufficient power to work all the mills now in operation, and a canal, the oldest in the Union, by which, till the railroad was made, all the trade of Lowell was carried on. The plan succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the projectors, who have consequently realised large fortunes.

I went round one of the mills belonging to Messrs. Lawrence, and was much pleased with the comfort and cleanliness of the whole establishment, as well as with the appearance of the work-people. They were 700 in number (almost all adults and unmarried); the wages of the men

averaging about eighty cents (3*s.* 6*d.*), those of the women half a dollar per day. They work from five A. M. to seven P. M., with the intermission of half an hour for breakfast and three quarters of an hour for dinner. They live in boarding houses connected with the mill, belonging to the master manufacturer, and kept by persons whom he employs, and who are responsible to him for the order and regularity of their establishment: a strict police is enforced, and drunkenness and immorality punished by immediate dismissal. The same system is pursued by the other mill owners, and the result is such as they may justly be proud of. At the same time, when the example of Lowell is quoted to show that the evils which have in Europe universally attended the manufacturing system are not inevitable in it, I cannot admit it to be at all conclusive. The experiment has been tried under eminently favourable circumstances, and in a country where the working-class has advantages unknown elsewhere: nor can I conceive that when it shall be fully peopled, when the wages of labour shall have fallen, and when the manufacturing shall come to bear an important numerical proportion to the agricultural population, the favourable contrast which the New England factories now present to those of England, France, and Germany, can possibly continue.

At present the factories are supplied by a perpetual immigration from the agricultural districts; farmers' children come in from the surrounding states, spend three or four years here, accumulate a small capital, and go off to marry, settle, or embark in other pursuits, leaving their places to be supplied by a fresh influx of healthy rural blood. Thus no permanent urban population has as yet been formed, while the comparatively small size of the town enables the capitalists to whom it almost exclusively belongs, to manage and regulate its police at will, and neither of these advantages are likely to be other than local and temporary.

Again: there can be no physical destitution while land is so cheap, and labour so dear as in the case of America; and we all know how intimately connected are extreme poverty and that kind of immorality, the absence of which is so remarkable at Lowell. The circumstances of the country enable the operatives to ask, and protective tariffs alone enable the manufacturers to give, such wages as I have mentioned. If these were to fall below a certain point, the former would betake themselves to their homes and their fields, where they would be sure of employment and subsistence till it were worth their while to return to the mills. It is obvious that under a high-pressure

system of competition such as ours, where the labourers are struggling to outbid each other, and the manufacturers to undersell the rest of the world, such a free-and-easy mode of proceeding could not possibly exist. A stationary population, devoted from their very childhood to the one pursuit which they are to follow through life, with faculties sharpened by attention to it, thoroughly impressed by its influences, and in possession of a hereditary or at least traditionary aptitude for it, will necessarily outbid one such as I have described to exist in New England, and will therefore ultimately (with the extension of the manufacturing system and the depression of wages) prevail over it. It cannot be supposed that all manufacturers will be so conscientious and far-sighted as those who have had the care of Lowell, or that they will not generally look merely to the greatest possible production upon the cheapest and easiest terms. New England, from the traditional and habitual observance of external morality and decency which prevails, is the most favourable spot which could be selected for the experiment of a well-disciplined factory system; yet even here I have been informed by good authority that the evils characteristic of manufacturing districts in Europe have begun to appear, and that the example of Lowell has not been adhered to elsewhere. If the factory

system were to be engrafted upon the undisciplined habits and lax morality of the South, I feel convinced that even now the worst results would follow. The experience of all ages and countries ought surely to outweigh that which rests upon the solitary instance of this town.

Another day I went to Nahant, a small watering-place a few miles from Boston, which is now full of "felicity-hunters" from the latter place. I must return to Boston after my tour in Canada, to present my letters, and become acquainted with its society. At this time of year not a soul is left in the town; indeed, several houses at which I have called are completely shut up; not even a servant is left to take care of them, while the family is gone off to the country or the sea-coast for the hot months.

I was much struck by the quantity of uncleared forest which extends up to the immediate neighbourhood of Boston. Though this country was settled 230 years ago, and has been sending out continually the most industrious and enterprising population in the world to reclaim and conquer the western wilds, the road between Boston and Lowell (the most frequented in New England) is bordered for the most part by a wilderness which does not bear, apparently, a trace of man's proximity. Great part of the forest, however, has been

cut, and what one now sees is the second growth. In many places too the land has once been cleared and cultivated. When the virgin soil was exhausted, the farmer girded up his loins, mustered his caravan, and started westward, to invest his capital and labour in a more tempting field. Such has ever been the case here, and such it will be, as long as unoccupied land remains, accessible at less trouble and cost than must be employed in cultivating the barren lands nearer home. When this happens; when the shores of the great lakes shall be fully peopled, and land have become dear in the valley of the Mississippi, the tide of emigration will be stopped, and we shall see a fixed agricultural population growing up in the Atlantic States. I see in fact a sign already of this taking place to some extent, in the fact that within the last few years many settlers have gone from New England to Virginia, and taken possession of land which had undergone the process of which I have spoken, having been cleared, exhausted, (as it is called) and deserted for years. These Yankees have now found it worth their while to reoccupy it; and such must in the ordinary course of things be the case along the whole "seaboard." New England will probably be the last region fully settled, as presenting fewer inducements to the agriculturist than the middle and southern states; indeed, it is

a fresh example of the paradoxical rule which has so frequently obtained, that the prosperity and greatness of a country will be in an inverse ratio to its capabilities of soil and climate: but its turn will also come, and a new and very important element will be thereby infused into the American population.

Of the two antagonist powers, or opposite interests of a state, that of *permanence* has always been connected with and represented by the landed proprietary, as that of *progression* by (what Coleridge calls) the Personal Interest, that is, the mercantile, manufacturing, and professional classes; and, generally speaking, in proportion as the one or the other of these influences is more or less predominant, will the national character be conservative and orderly, or restless and innovating. Now hitherto the conservative force resulting from a fixed agricultural population has been comparatively weak in the United States; nobody can doubt that the commercial element is decidedly preponderant in the American character; nay, it is remarkable that the "go-ahead," restless, money-making spirit is fully as conspicuous in the farmer as in the merchant: and the reason is obvious; land is to him an investment, not a home; he takes it one year to abandon it perhaps the next; it does not constitute a hereditary property, which

connects him in feeling and interests with his ancestors, and which he hopes to transmit to a posterity engaged in the same pursuits, and occupying the same position as himself; in short, he is on the land, as much as the merchant on the sea, a capitalist, a rover, a citizen of the world. But when the period to which I have alluded shall be reached, when the American farmer shall have cast anchor, as it were, into the soil, it is reasonable to suppose that the same influences will operate in modifying his character, which have determined the position of the agricultural population in other parts of the world; and we shall find, perhaps at no very remote distance of time, that in New England, as in Old England, the soundest and most valuable class of the population will consist in a sober and contented, a moral and religious yeomanry.

When we look forward through the vista of years, and reflect upon the evils with which they are necessarily pregnant, the growth of large cities, (those hotbeds of vice), the development of the manufacturing interest with all its attendant dangers, and the inevitable increase of pauperism, it is consoling to reflect that the same lapse of time will produce so powerful and beneficial a counterpoise to those evils and dangers, as exists in a stationary rural population.

LETTER II.

NEW YORK.

JOURNEY FROM BOSTON TO NEW YORK. — LOCAL ADVANTAGES WHICH NEW YORK POSSESSES. — PROSPECTS OF BOSTON. — OF THE ATLANTIC CITIES OF THE SOUTH. — FRENCH AND ENGLISH COLONIAL SYSTEM. — ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. — ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE. — AMERICA REPRESENTS EXCLUSIVELY MODERN HABITS AND FEELINGS. — MIXED NATURE OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS. — ROCKAWAY. — AMERICAN TRAVELLERS.

New York, July.

BETWEEN Boston and Norwich, a distance of 100 miles, which I travelled by railroad on my way hither, the country is pretty and varied in surface. In the quantity of forest, the nature of the ground, and the wooden houses and fences, it reminded me much of Sweden, and the tamer and more populous parts of Norway, with the great advantage, however, of possessing every variety of forest timber; whereas, in Scandinavia, one gets perfectly sickened with the monotony of the dull, dark pines.

From Norwich to New York I took the steamer, a very remarkable object to a foreigner, being totally unlike in construction to any that one sees in Europe — all above water, cabins, and machinery; drawing very little water in proportion

to its tonnage, long, gaily painted, crowded, uncomfortable, cheap, and fast. Some of the boats on the Hudson are quite wonderful in their dimensions (there is one, I think, 350 feet long), and do not draw above four feet. Their pace is about the same as that of our Gravesend and Herne Bay boats, but they are infinitely larger and more splendid in their equipments. On all the northern rivers the steamers are upon the low-pressure system, whereas in the South a low-pressure boat is never seen. I never could obtain a satisfactory explanation of so completely varying a custom; the common one, that people are more careless of their lives in the South, seems hardly sufficient.

The approach to New York from the East River is not striking or picturesque; but when one gets into the harbour, the extraordinary advantages of its situation begin to appear. The city is situated on a long, narrow peninsula, formed by the Hudson and the arm of the sea called East River. The water is deep enough all round to float a frigate by the very wharf, and in fact you walk along the street under the bowsprits of the largest merchantmen.

From the north flows down the Hudson, broad, straight, and slow, without a rapid or a "snag," and cutting through the very heart of the mountains, as though on purpose to open a way

for the produce of the western country to flow into the Atlantic. This it is which gives New York her superiority over the other maritime cities, and which will enable her to retain it.

The people of Boston are not without hopes that the completion of the railway from Buffalo to Boston may divert into their channel a considerable part of the commerce of the lakes, and thus provide their foreign trade with a foundation of indigenous productive industry; but I hardly think that such can ever be the case. Such a river as the Hudson must always beat a railroad, even in the transport of passengers, affording means of communication equally speedy and far more economical; but for the transport of goods there can be no comparison in the advantages, which are all on the side of the water. A railroad is now in progress running parallel with the Hudson, which will prevent the communication between New York and Albany from being stopped during the winter, when the river is frozen over; and New York will, I am convinced, continue to be the great emporium of agricultural produce. Boston has no "back country," as it is called: she exports manufactures, to be sure, but not to any very great extent; nor is there any immediate prospect of that export increasing largely, for America is not yet, apparently, ripe for a great manufac-

turing development. Her dependence then is principally on the carrying trade. New England stands to the rest of the Union in the position which Holland formerly occupied with respect to Europe; she has capital, enterprise, and a maritime population, and possesses, I believe, about four-fifths of the shipping of the Union; but can this last? Will not the Atlantic States of the South, in proportion as they find it impossible to compete with the newer land in the West in the production of the raw material, turn their labour and their capital into the natural channel of carrying for their inland neighbours? The great seaports of the South, which are now filled with the shipping of Maine and Massachusetts, will perhaps, at no great distance of time, find it cheaper and more profitable to build and carry for themselves, more especially as the Carolinas and Georgia supply even now a large proportion of the timber which is employed in shipbuilding; and if this be the case, the main-spring of the prosperity of Boston will be broken. I cannot but look forward to the time (highly as I think of the character and qualities of her population), when she must yield the superiority which she now holds to the natural advantages of her southern rivals. There are, however, two circumstances which give an advantage to New England, and which may for a long

time keep her ahead; these are the absence of slavery, and the possession of high commercial character and credit: as long as these are distinctive instead of common, no local superiority will outweigh them in the balance.

I had a good deal of conversation the other day upon the subject of Texas, and the progress, generally, of the Anglo-American race over the western continent. I find the doctrine of what may be called political fatalism very generally held, though not perhaps openly avowed or defended; the doctrine, namely, that Providence has so obviously destined America for the Anglo-Saxons, and the Anglo-Saxons for America, that the means whereby its designs are promoted should not be too rigidly scrutinised. Though the principle that the end does not justify the means is plain and incontrovertible, yet its application to this or that individual case is often doubtful, and admits of plausible arguments on both sides. What constitutes occupancy and the right of possession to a country? The fact of visiting it as a hunting-ground once perhaps in fifty years? In what degree may the more civilised justly take advantage of the more barbarous negotiator, in driving a bargain of guns and knives against mountains and forests? How far is it allowable, when real and just grounds of quarrel arise, as will always

be the case where savage and civilised man come in contact, to retaliate and punish aggressions by confiscation of territory? The solution of these and many similar questions presents difficulty enough to make the moralist pause before he pronounces a sweeping censure upon the encroachments which civilisation has always made and will always make upon barbarism, whenever they come into collision. Such has been the result in India, where really it is difficult to point out more than one or two cases in which the hostilities, which have from time to time extended our empire, have not been commenced by the native princes, who afterwards suffered from their effects: nay, it is singular, that the very governors and commanders who went out with the most pacific intentions, and the firmest conviction of the inexpediency of an aggressive policy, as Lord Cornwallis and Lord Amherst*, were those under whose auspices some of the greatest accessions to our territory were made. And such has been the result in America, where with more or less reason and justice in individual cases of conquest, both British and Americans have every where *displaced* (to use a neutral term) the aboriginal inhabitants: as they appear, the red man melts away, like snow before the south wind.

* And now Lord Ellenborough.

M. Chevalier's work upon America contains some very interesting remarks, made in a most candid and liberal spirit, upon the difference between the French and English principles of colonisation, and upon the effects which the complete victory of the latter has had upon the destinies of America. The military advantages and extended dominion, which were the primary objects of the one nation present as complete a contrast to the industrious, commercial, money-making schemes of the other, as the centralised and monarchical government of the French does to the popular and independent constitution of the English colonies; and it would be difficult to supply a stronger illustration of the superior energy and power which habits of independence and self-government produce, than the ultimate success of the latter. In unity and simplicity of political purpose, in the military skill of the leaders, and the martial character of the population; above all, in the perfect harmony which always existed between the colonists and the mother country, the superiority of the French would have led us to anticipate for them an assured victory. But while they were extending their military posts, we had been improving our internal resources. In commerce, agriculture, wealth, and population, the British colonies soon went far ahead. The habit of dependence

upon the mother-country had weakened among the French the springs of native vigour; and when Quebec fell, there was not strength or courage left to strike another blow, and the fabric of French dominion in America fell at once to rise no more.

The occupation of Texas by English and American adventurers, and its dismemberment from Mexico, involve a very important accession of territory and influence to the dominant race; nor can there, I think, be any doubt, that at no very distant time it will be annexed to the United States. Unfortunately for its future prosperity and peace, the institution of slavery has been allowed to establish itself in this immense territory; and this constitutes at present the principal obstacle to the annexation, for which the Texans are so anxious. The Northern States, who have always looked with great jealousy upon the preponderance which the South has exercised in the councils of the Union, are strongly adverse to the admission of a country, equal, when fully peopled, to five ordinary states, and bound to the southern interest by the all-powerful tie of common slave-holding institutions.* I cannot, however, believe

* I have read a speech delivered in September by Mr. John Quincy Adams, in which he declares that the North would sooner dissolve the Union, than consent to the annexation of Texas

that this objection will ultimately prevail against the measure, which would be too beneficial to the material interests of the Union to be defeated, in the present state of American feeling, by abstract ideas about slavery. Texas must be either absorbed into the Union, or prove a powerful political and commercial rival. Her soil and climate are superior to those of the cotton and sugar-growing states; so that, when once her relations with Mexico are settled, her population must rapidly increase, and drain, to a great extent, the resources of the Union by the emigration of settlers and capital. The Americans know the danger which their institutions would incur from the growth of formidable neighbours, entailing as it would the necessity of military and naval establishments; and they look forward, I am convinced, to the time when the whole continent north of the isthmus of Panama is destined to be theirs. Under these circumstances, I cannot think that they will long hesitate about taking so obvious and important a step towards the consummation as the annexation of Texas; at present, however, I must say, that the majority of American statesmen seem to be not anxious for the measure, or careless about it.

I have not yet seen one church in this country built in good ecclesiastical taste; but I am glad to

perceive that one on a larger scale, and with altogether superior pretensions to any thing now existing in the United States, is in course of erection in Broadway. This church possesses the only rich ecclesiastical endowment which exists in the United States; it is derived from a grant of land made to the Anglo-American Church before the Revolution; which, in consequence of the increase of the city, has become very valuable. The funds derived from it have been most usefully employed (after providing for the wants of the New York district) in promoting the cause of the church generally throughout the Union. A large sum (I should think not less than 30,000*l.*) has now been devoted to building the fabric which I have alluded to. The work has already made considerable progress, and promises to be "facile princeps" in American ecclesiastical architecture. Its style is the decorative Gothic, but it will not, as far as I can judge, be scrupulously and correctly adhered to throughout the building.

We are sometimes inclined to laugh at American architecture: it would be well for us to ask ourselves what we have to shew at home that is superior, and built within the last century. Before the re-action which has taken place within the last ten years, the art (and especially the Christian branch of it) had long remained at the lowest

point of depression. All our beautiful ecclesiastical buildings are of a date anterior to the time when America was first heard of; and it is not fair to attribute to the peculiarities of society here what is characteristic, not of the country, but of the age. England is the only country which unites the associations and monuments of the olden time, memorials of the ages of faith and feudalism, with the highest material civilisation of the nineteenth century. In points of social economy, such as the division of labour, rapidity of communication, and perfection of physical science, Germany is about where we were at the time of the revolution of 1688, so that her abbeys, and churches, and old town-houses, and palaces of kings and nobles are all consistent and in keeping. In America, on the other hand, born since these things went out of fashion, the aspect of the country, as well as the framework of society, is modelled accordingly, and "productive industry" reigns without a rival. But in England the contrast between the old and the new is strikingly represented, and full of matter for reflection, cheerful or melancholy according to the tone of the observer's mind; the factory chimney rears its head, as it were, in emulation of the cathedral spire, and the railroad cuts through the old ancestral park.

So it is with our political institutions; they have always been founded on a balance, a struggle, an apparent inconsistency: the ancient monarch, the feudal aristocracy, and the Catholic church, are engaged in a continual struggle with the torrent of democracy, which certainly (whether for evil or for good) is more in accordance with the "spirit of the age," and which turns the old popular institutions of the rural Saxons to the purposes of anti-corn-law leagues and trades unions. One or other of these influences has always been predominant, and yet has always been checked and modified by the operation of the others.

And the mixed nature of our institutions has produced a corresponding effect upon national character. Even now the ancient loyalty and respect for the church, and, still more, the aristocratic or class feeling, mingle with and soften the levelling and democratic spirit, whose turn of ascendancy seems to have arrived. It is impossible, perhaps, either for institutions or for national character, of a mixed kind like ours, to remain stationary, and difficult to say at what point the just medium is attained; but that difficulty does not render it less the duty of the statesman to observe whither the spirit of the age is tending, and to administer, if need be, correctives to the

danger and evil of its too rapid progress. I cannot too often repeat that American institutions, society, and character, are but what ours would be if it were not for the check of old associations—a more powerful barrier than positive enactments —and what it is not wholly impossible that ours may at some future time become. It is therefore most important to study them, with a view of preserving those feelings and habits in our population, which must form the only true preservative against an undue preponderance of their peculiar spirit. Without going as far as Lord Bacon, who says, "In the infancy of a state, arms flourish; in its prime, arts; in *its decline*, manufactures," one may be allowed to look with some apprehension upon a state of society where the comfortable seems likely to take the place of the beautiful, and where material civilisation (to use the French expression) threatens to overpower altogether the higher and more refined branches of moral and intellectual cultivation.

The financial state of this country is most extraordinary: there is absolutely no credit, and very little money: in the state of New York, where, in 1837, 4,000,000*l.* were in circulation, there are now only 1,200,000*l.* In this town the value of real property has fallen within five years to less than one half; tradesmen are paying their

workmen in produce for want of a currency; and on the public works in the state, the contractor is distributing bonds redeemable three years hence, which he gives in fractions, so that the men may pay them at the stores for goods. If a merchant wants raw produce from a farmer, or a retail shopkeeper from a merchant, they must bring their money in their hands. Paper is rapidly becoming scarce, for the banks are afraid to discount; and the only way in which confidence is likely to be restored is by the influx of specie, which is now proceeding to a great extent; and thus, in the nineteenth century, the Americans are returning to the old, expensive, unwieldly, commercial medium, which, in all civilised countries, credit has so extensively superseded. In the mean time there is no adequate revenue, and great difficulty is anticipated by the federal government in getting the loan taken up, which is to meet the deficiency of the current year.

On the 26th I went with Mr. P. (an English friend whom I met at New York) to Rockaway, a favourite sea-bathing "location" for the New Yorkers. It is on the east coast, about twenty miles from the city, and consists simply of a very large hotel upon the beach. We found about one hundred people there, living completely "en famille," that is, all in the same rooms, keeping the

same hours, and even bathing together. The sea is literally the only object of interest externally; but there are all sorts of gaiety, dancing, singing, &c. going on within. For my part, I was too lazy and oppressed by the heat to profit by Mr. P.'s kind introductions. It is very difficult, and requires a peculiar talent, to make acquaintances rapidly, and enter freely into society with people whom one has never seen before, and will probably never see again. An Englishman has great advantages in doing so here from knowing the language, and having a certain affinity in pursuits and habits of thought with the Americans; but how few profit by them! The only plan is to travel alone, and then one is forced into society in self-defence. An agreeable party travelling together, or even two individuals fond of each other's society, feel naturally disinclined to the trouble of making temporary acquaintances in a strange place; and so they often travel for months through a country, without presenting a letter of introduction, or making any farther acquaintance with the inhabitants than results from a casual proximity in travelling conveyances, or "table d'hôte." In America such a course is peculiarly unfavourable to a fair estimate of the best aspect of the national character. Here every body travels; and every body, except the labouring class, dresses

alike. A foreigner makes acquaintance (we will suppose in a steam-boat or railroad-car) with a person who has, in all respects, the same external pretensions as those of his own class in life; he enters into conversation with him; finds him, perhaps, impertinent, prejudiced, conceited, and ignorant of the common refinements and courtesies of civilised life; and after having argued and disputed almost to the verge of a quarrel, goes off and describes his fellow-traveller in his journal (probably with a good deal of exaggeration) as a fair specimen of the best American society; whereas the man was most likely a shopkeeper's apprentice, in no respect different in point of refinement from a youth of the same class out of St. Paul's Church Yard. I speak from experience, having often been tempted to do so myself. The best people in America are not accessible without good letters of introduction: when you meet them, as you do, in places of public entertainment, they are silent and reserved. I have often been disappointed by the coldness with which my advances towards acquaintance have been made, where such advances appeared natural and allowable; but, upon consideration, I have remembered that a different mode of proceeding would, from the very promiscuous nature of the company one meets with, lead to innumer-

able annoyances. On the other hand, I recollect but one instance, in my own experience, (which probably might have been satisfactorily accounted for,) where an introduction met with the slightest inattention or neglect; on the contrary, in no country have I ever met with such a real, cordial desire to make a stranger feel at home, by avoiding any thing like irritating or unpleasant subjects of conversation, and by admitting him at once into the family circle. In *travelling*, however, I must confess that a foreigner must expect to meet with much that is unpleasant and grating to his feelings, and I am the more sorry when he is thereby deterred from extending his acquaintance with the better portion of American society.

LETTER III.

SARATOGA.

HOTELS. — THE HUDSON. — WASHINGTON IRVING — EMIGRATION. — ALBANY. — VAN RENNSELAER ESTATE. — SARATOGA. — AMERICANS AND ENGLISH AT WATERING-PLACES. — MODERN FEMALE COSTUMES. — CHURCH AT SARATOGA. — DUELLING.

Saratoga, August.

I LEFT New York on the twenty-ninth, and came up the Hudson in a beautiful steamer, at the rate of fourteen miles an hour, against tide and stream. Travelling is very cheap upon the frequented routes in the northern states, in consequence of the opposition, which starts invariably at the first symptom of an opening. I only paid about 9*s.* 6*d.* as my fare from Boston to New York (the distance is about 200 miles), and 6*s.* from New York to Albany (160 miles). The hotels, too, are extremely cheap, considering the fare and accommodation which they afford, unless, indeed, the traveller requires the use of private apartments. The highest price which I have heard of in the northern states is two dollars (8*s.* 6*d.*), and at many excellent hotels it is only 1½ dollar per day. This

includes board, lodging, and the payment of servants; and I have never found an objection made to the supply of meals at separate hours, nor an additional charge in consequence, though of course very few people require them, or it would be objected to. The attendance of servants is sufficient, and the "cuisine" in the larger towns as good as is to be met with in any country; indeed, the hotels are almost the only places, I am told, where there is tolerable cookery in America. I can well imagine the disgust of an American, who, after enjoying the usual variety! of an English bill of fare — the greasy mutton chop and sodden tart — finds a bill of 3*s.* 6*d.* brought in, besides "the waiter, if you please, sir." Regretfully does he dwell in spirit upon the four meals a day of the Astor House, or the Tremont, comprising every imaginable European and American dish, in unlimited profusion, and the short and itemless bill which follows them. For the comfort which an Englishman finds in the privacy and solitude of his box in the coffee-room, his muffin and his newspaper, the American cares not. His idea of a luxurious breakfast is the greatest possible variety of eatables, discussed in the shortest possible space of time; and this national taste he certainly has the means here of gratifying to any extent. Wines are dear (I know not why,

for the duty is low), and very few people, comparatively speaking, drink them. Those that do, drink madeira and champagne. Peninsular and German wines are hardly ever called for. I have been much surprised at the small quantity that is drunk at dinner. Very often at a table, at which fifty people are sitting, you see only one or two bottles of wine, and no beer. The Americans have not inherited our taste for malt, and water is the universal beverage. Those who drink, do so after dinner at the bar, where there is a perpetual concoction of every kind of euphonious compound, such as mint julep, sherry-cobler, egg-nog, &c.: on the whole, however, in those hotels which I have seen, the temperance in using spirituous liquors is very remarkable; I am told that it is of recent date, and owing partly to the spread of temperance societies, partly to the pecuniary embarrassment which prevails, and which necessitates economy.

I was much and agreeably surprised by the beauty of the Hudson; I am so much accustomed to the exorbitant terms in which most people (especially Americans) praise their own country, that I made more allowance for exaggeration in their encomiums than I need have done. There is nothing grand or striking in its scenery, but it is peculiarly soft and pleasing, and as a whole superior, I think,

to the Rhine, though not perhaps equal to its best points. During the entire distance of 160 miles, there is not one point of view which can be called ugly or uninteresting. Its chief faults are want of variety and boldness of outline in the heights, and a greater monotony in the scenery, though it is a monotony of beauty, than one would expect in so long a voyage: everywhere you have the same broad, straight, calm river, and the same gently swelling banks, covered with wood, or dotted with white villas and farm-houses. While passing through the Highlands the scenery is bolder, though it never reaches the sublime; and from West Point the view is really beautiful: it commands a magnificent reach of the river, covered with craft of all sorts and sizes; the hills, too, are more precipitous, and the forest which covers them peculiarly dark and deep.

About twenty-five miles from New York was pointed out to me Washington Irving's house at Sleepy Hollow, that classic spot which he has immortalised. I looked at it with much interest, for I am a great admirer of Irving. He seems to me to have by far the most poetical mind which America has yet produced, though I am not aware that he has ever written in verse. But if a vivid fancy, a keen sense of beauty, great power in describing nature, and a melody of diction almost

unsurpassed; if a heart overflowing with the milk of human kindness, and sympathising with all that is old, and heroic, and super-sensual, be indicative of a poetical character, certainly Irving is a poet. With the prosaic, materialistic character of the age, he has nothing in common; he lives in a world of his own — a world of romance and superstition, which is quite refreshing to those who are accustomed to the dull, working-day realities of common life. I do not think he is as much appreciated in America as he ought to be, though the president lately did himself great credit by sending him to his favourite Spain as minister. I should think, however, that literature and antiquities would rather throw his diplomatic duties into the shade.

On board the steamer was an Englishman who irritated me greatly by crying down and depreciating England, saying, the sun of her prosperity was set for ever, and that every man who could wind up his affairs there, and scrape together a little capital, was leaving her, like himself, for a more favoured land. Of course he found plenty of his fellow-passengers who applauded him to the echo; and as for himself, he seemed absolutely to glory in the skill and capital which, he said, were daily departing. Of such Englishmen, England is well rid; but, contemptible as they are, they do harm,

and give occasion to her enemies to triumph. It seems to me that the man cannot be justified, who, without absolute necessity, changes his country and his allegiance. Not only does he employ his industry and capital, whatever they may be, in promoting the advancement of a foreign, perhaps hostile, nation; but he is actually liable, in case of a war, to contribute to the attacks aimed at the very existence of his father-land, and even to fight in the opposite ranks to his countrymen, friends, and relations. And yet how lightly people think of all this, when considering the subject of emigration. Surely the emigrant should refuse to take upon himself the rights and duties of citizenship in a foreign country; he should consider himself merely as a stranger and a sojourner there, and be ready to renounce his position, whenever it becomes incompatible with his prior obligations: his children, who will grow up free from the ties, duties, and associations which affect their parents, may lawfully become citizens of his adopted country; but I cannot think that he is justified, under any circumstances, in doing so himself.

The true moral theory (if I may use the expression) of emigration is perhaps this — when a man, after mature consideration, and *due diligence*, can find for himself in his own country no work to perform, no place to fill, he is justified in seeking

them, if possible, in another; nay, he is bound to do so, for no man has a right to be a drone in the hive—no man has a right, merely because he may happen to have a ready-made competence of worldly goods, to live a useless, aimless life. We have all parts to play, and each in his calling is bound to consider himself (in the words of Jeremy Taylor) "a minister of Divine Providence, a steward of creation, a servant of the great family of God;" and if a man be conscientiously convinced that "at nature's board there is no place for him" at home, he should consider whether he has a better chance in a less crowded society, and should act accordingly. Under such circumstances *we* fortunately need have no scruples or difficulties to contend with. If we are at a loss for a field for our labour, we have only to remove from one part of the empire to another: in every quarter of the world we shall find British subjects and British institutions, and may still consider ourselves at home. Still, how much there is of natural and amiable feeling, of old associations, of early habits, of attachment to the place of our birth, and the scenes among which our happiest years have been passed, which sensitive minds must overcome before they can reconcile themselves to so complete a change as is involved in the removal even from the mother country to a

colony. The motives must be very cogent which should induce a man to do violence to such feelings; and I always felt my heart warm towards those of my own countrymen (and they were many), who expressed themselves as looking back, in the midst of the comparative plenty and prosperity which they enjoyed in America, with regret and affection upon Ireland, and as expecting never to be so happy again as before they left it.

Nothing has contributed more powerfully to lower the standard of colonial character, and diminish the estimation in which colonial society is held in comparison with that of old countries, than the sordid motives which alone have influenced the great majority of settlers. How small a number has a philosophical desire of extended usefulness, or even a manly consciousness of unemployed energy and impatience of inaction, driven to swell the tide of emigration! Generally speaking, the only object of colonists has been gain; and the necessary consequence was to impart a low, materialistic tone to the community which they formed. I am far from wishing to inculpate the desire and effort to provide adequately for physical wants, but unless they be kept in subordination to higher aims, they are most pernicious in their effects upon character; and in considering the vices and failings which strike us as most pro-

minent in comparatively new countries, we should recollect the hereditary influence transmitted by the class of men who have formed the majority of the first settlers, and which their descendants find it for generations difficult to resist, particularly as the nature of their situation generally tends to perpetuate the money-getting habits which they inherit, and which cannot but blunt in most instances the finer feelings of the mind and heart.

Albany is a large straggling town, built upon a very steep hill, overlooking the Hudson; it is the capital of the state of New York, and consequently the seat of the law courts and representative assembly. I heard a good deal of German talked in the streets, and saw German inscriptions over the shop-doors. There has been a large German emigration this year, and they make very good settlers, most of them having money, and being besides moral, sober, and industrious, though without the energy, activity, and resource which distinguish the Anglo-American race. The neighbourhood of Albany has lately been the scene of transactions of a singular nature, arising out of circumstances connected with the tenure of land on General Van Rennselaer's estate. When New Amsterdam (now New York) was surrendered to the English, one of the conditions of capitulation was, that such of the Dutch colonists as chose to

remain should preserve their estates, and that the same law of inheritance to which they were at the time subjected should continue to regulate them. On several of these estates perpetual entails had been created, and these continued consequently in the same families till the Revolution, when a law was passed providing that such entails should subsist for three generations longer, after which the same law of inheritance which was established in the other revolted colonies should take effect upon them. There are, I think, three subsisting, of which General Van Rennselaer's is the largest: it embraces a great extent of valuable land, and has been for some time parcelled out into farms, for which rent was paid in produce, and certain services, I believe, were also due. For a long time these rents and services had been irregularly rendered; and about two years ago, upon a demand being made for the payment of arrears, a general resistance was opposed to it, upon the ground, simply, that the tenants had paid long enough, and that it was quite time that their occupancy should be converted into possession. This movement produced great excitement; the militia of the state was called out, and a series of operations commenced against the recusants, which goes now by the name of the Helderberg war. The result was, that after a nominal submission on the part

of the latter, they virtually succeeded in gaining their point, and were universally permitted to compound the matter, and purchase indemnity against all present and future claims at a very moderate price.

From Albany I proceeded by railroad to Saratoga, passing through an uninteresting country. The principal timber is pine, of small and stunted growth; the crops Indian corn and oats. It is long before an English eye becomes reconciled to the lightness of the crops and the careless farming (as we should call it) which is apparent. One forgets that where land is so plentiful and labour so dear, as it is here, a totally different principle must be pursued to that which prevails in populous countries, and that the consequence will of course be a want of tidiness, as it were, and finish about every thing which requires labour. Here, too, a large proportion of the land is dotted with stumps, which require an immense time to rot out (some kinds of wood thirty or forty years), and which impart a wild uncivilised look to the fields. Saratoga, as every one knows, is the Cheltenham or Baden of America: it is now the height of the season; and though they say it is not so full as usual, in consequence of the commercial distress and scarcity of money, it is very unpleasantly crowded nevertheless. I am in

a little room, of about the size and temperature of an ordinary oven, in a lodging-house appendant to the Congress Hall Hotel. I cannot say that I enjoy Saratoga. Watering-places at all times and every where are *ennuyant* enough; but this, I think, beats in stupidity most that I have seen. The fact is, that neither the Americans nor the English are fitted for a watering-place life. They are too fond of politics, of business, of excitement, and soon weary of the simple routine which a watering-place affords of *vie en plein air* — early hours and gossipping familiarity — and which the easy, sociable habits and manners of the continental nations, particularly the Germans, qualify them to enjoy so thoroughly. I never saw an Englishman at a foreign watering-place whose chief resource did not consist in looking out for the English mail, and reading the English papers; and then we are so jealous, so distant, so afraid of foreigners and of each other, that I never can help feeling that an Englishman makes the worst and most ungraceful lounger in the world, except an American. Here we are all making believe to be exceedingly gay, and looking as if we thought it the greatest bore in the world. There is none of the *laissez-aller* and *déshabille*, which is the redeeming point about a German bath. One is obliged to dress, with the thermometer at 90°, as though one

were in London or Paris (not that I do, but I ought), or indeed more so, for I do not think I ever saw so large a proportion of highly-dressed men and women. The Parisian fashions of the day are carried out to their extreme, detestably ugly as they are. Really the modern European (and American) costume gives a woman the appearance of something between a trussed fowl and an hour-glass; her elbows are pinioned to her sides by what are facetiously called *shoulder*-straps, while she is compressed in the waist, and puffed out above and below it, to such an extent that one expects her to break off in the middle at the slightest touch. It is perfectly wonderful that people take so much pains to deform and disfigure their natural proportions: they set up a false, *because* unnatural, standard of beauty, and then attempt to force their figures into a conformity with it. How absurd it is, if we would but think so, to suppose that a *disproportionately* slender waist, or small hand or foot, is a beauty; nay, that it is not a deformity, just as one disproportionately large would be; yet if an average sized woman can reduce by dint of pressure any one of these within the limits which would suit the size of a child six years old, she fancies she has attained the ideal of grace and beauty; as if there could be beauty without fitness and harmony of parts. If she would only

imagine how such a figure as she daily makes of herself would look in marble or bronze, she would perceive the manifest distortion of taste which it evinces. I do not know why I have been drawn into this "tirade" here, except that when travelling in a foreign country one's attention is more awake, and one is led to observe things which perhaps daily pass before one's eyes unnoticed at home.

One day I attempted to vary the scene by going out to look for woodcocks, but as I could not get dogs—and beaters were of course out of the question—I was, as you may suppose, unsuccessful. Birds, too, are very scarce, for the woodcock-shooting begins in June (as soon as ever the young birds can fly, in fact), and there is so good a market for them here that the neighbourhood is soon pretty well cleared. The hunters (as all "chasseurs" are called in this country) are exclusively professional; I have not yet met an American amateur sportsman.

On Sunday I attended divine service in a small church in the village; it was tolerably full, but not of the higher classes, and I recognised none of the faces which I had seen in the drawing-rooms, though many of those, whose acquaintance I had made there, professed to be "episcopalians." The bishop of New York preached an excellent sermon—simple, well composed, practical, and Catho-

lic in tone, and afterwards confirmed about twenty persons, among whom were some with grey heads, and one coloured girl, who had sat apart during the service. The American liturgy differs but slightly from ours. The most remarkable deviations are the omission of the Athanasian Creed, and the permission (which seems quite indefensible) to leave out or not at discretion the words, "He descended into hell" in the Apostles' Creed. I should be much disappointed at the non-attendance of "fashionables" at church, if the company here could be considered as at all adequately representing the average state of feeling and practice upon these subjects. This, however, for obvious reasons, is not likely to be the case; yet, after making every allowance, I cannot but think it is a bad symptom.

Some noted duellists have been pointed out to me here. There is one gentleman who wears a green shade over his eye, in consequence of a contusion which he received the other day from the rebound of a bullet, in practising for an affair of this kind. I had a good deal of conversation with some American gentlemen upon the subject, and heard some stories which astonished me not a little. The American system of duelling is quite different from ours, and far more consistent and rational: they never think of apologies on the ground, or

firing in the air, or separating after a harmless interchange of shots, which, in England, throw an air of bombastic absurdity over most proceedings of the kind. In America they "mean business," not child's play, when they fight duels, and never separate till one is killed or wounded. The usual plan is to fire at ten paces, and to advance one pace each shot till the desired effect is produced (the newspapers lately gave an account of a duel, where the parties fired six times each). The challenged has the choice of weapons; and pistols, muskets, or rifles are usually selected. Not long since a well-known individual, who, I see, figured as second in an affair that took place about a month ago, challenged another man, who had objected to his vote at an election for personation (which of course involved a charge of perjury), to walk arm-in-arm from the top of the Capitol with him. As this was declined, his next proposal was to sit upon a keg of powder together, and apply a match. However, even in this country, these were considered rather strong measures; and through the mediation of pacific friends, it was at length amicably arranged that they should fight with muskets at five paces. Each piece was loaded with three balls, and of course both parties were nearly blown to pieces: the challenger, however, unfortunately recovered, and is now ready for fresh

atrocities. Of course such a case as this is rare; but I think I am right in stating that a bloodless duel is almost unknown. Now there is some sense in this, whatever one may say of its Christianity: a man is injured by another, he wishes to be revenged upon him, and takes the only method of effecting this which society will allow. In England we superadd absurdity. Our duellist, generally speaking, goes out upon the speculation that there is hardly, without avoiding guilt, any chance of a serious result: he commits what is confessedly and notoriously a breach of every law, divine and human; not at the instigation of overpowering passion, which though of course it cannot *excuse* the crime any more than it could that of assassination, at least reasonably *accounts for* its commission; but at the command of a perverted public opinion which he has not manliness or courage to defy, or for the gratification of a miserable vanity, which aims at obtaining (at a very cheap rate) the reputation of a hero at Limmer's or the Saloon. I think some late transactions have contributed to cast upon the practice some of the ridicule which it deserves: there is, too, a stricter feeling of morality and religion growing up, so that I do not despair of seeing this paltry caricature of a barbarous custom totally given up.

LETTER IV.

MONTREAL.

JOURNEY FROM SARATOGA. — INTERESTING COUNTRY. — AMERICAN STAGES. — RAILROADS. — SCENERY. — LAKE GEORGE. — TICONDEROGA. — LAKE CHAMPLAIN. — LAST WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN. — PROBABLE MODE OF CARRYING ON NEXT. — EFFECTS OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS UPON CHANCES OF WAR. — ST. JOHN'S. — AMERICAN CUSTOM-HOUSES. — CANADIAN POPULATION. — ARMY IN CANADA. — MONTREAL.

Montreal.

THE road which I took from Saratoga runs northward, through a country famous in Transatlantic history and romance; for, as it formed the great pass between French and English America, almost every spot has been the scene of military operations. Glenn's Falls, Fort William Henry, Lake George, the "bloody pond,"— each has its name duly recorded in the accounts of the Seven Years' War; to me, as to most people, it is more familiar as the ground where the best scenes in Cooper's best novel, the "Last of the Mohicans," are laid,— just as at Liège every tourist runs to look for the scenes of Quentin Durward's adventures, and at Elsineur for the pond where Ophelia drowned

herself,— and it is even now so little cleared and settled, as to enable one, without any great effort of imagination, to recall the days of Hawk-eye, and Uncas, and the Sagamore — of the tomahawk, the rifle, and the birchen canoe.

The road is execrable,—in fact, nothing but a track in the sand, cut up by the rain (when I travelled on it) into gullies or rather ravines, which it seemed perfectly impossible to fathom with impunity: nothing but the most wonderful dexterity on the part of the driver, and the steadiness and strength of a team that would have done no dishonour to the Tantivy in the days when England was a coaching country, could have successfully brought us through. The Americans certainly understand their own material interests exceedingly well; and therefore when a foreigner even hints at what he fancies a fault in their management, he must do it with great diffidence; still I may be allowed to say, that I am surprised at the immense amount of capital which they have invested in railroads, while even in the most settled and civilised parts of the Union, the horse-roads are so bad after wet weather as to be almost impassable.* How can a railroad be productive that is not fed, if I may use the expression, by

* In this respect Mr. Dickens's sketches are hardly exaggerated.

cross-country roads? As it is at present in America, they merely serve as means of conveyance from one large town to another, for there are no omnibuses and private carriages waiting at the intermediate stations, as with us, to carry passengers in every direction into the interior (it is actually said, that in England, since the construction of railroads, the demand for coach and post-horses has not diminished). Now, considering that it is still doubtful to what extent railroads are applicable to the transport of raw produce or heavy goods (generally speaking), and also the extreme difficulty, at present, of getting to the railroads from the adjacent country, I cannot but think, that in many cases common roads would conduce more to commercial movement and exchange; the canals too, which are now almost forgotten in the complacency with which the effects of the railroad mania are regarded, will perhaps ultimately be found better adapted to the present stage of agricultural and commercial development. There is something very imposing in the idea of 1300 miles of continuous railroad, such as extends (with the exception of a few steamboat "trajets") from Portland in Maine to Savannah in Georgia; and I give the Americans full credit for the energy and enterprise to which the fact bears witness; but the question recurs,

are they ripe for it? Have they not gone a-head *too fast?* I fear the books of many of the rail-road companies would bear me out in an affirmative answer. American railroads have been, in most instances, constructed (notwithstanding the dearness of labour,) at a much lower price than ours; they have never more than a single line of rails: the wood for "sleepers" is generally on the spot, and above all there is no compensation to be paid to proprietors whose farms and parks are invaded by the locomotive (their course was straight and unopposed through the forest); but still when we consider the immense distances and the scanty population, and above all the want of cross-country crmmunications, I think we can account for the facts, that out of 200,000,000 of dollars which European capitalists have poured into America in the last ten years, only one half is now paying interest, and that, at this moment, the public works of many of the states are put up for sale to the highest bidder.

The country between Saratoga and Lake George is undulating and covered with forest; very pretty at first, but after a little time monotonous in the extreme. Tameness is the great fault of American scenery. It is the last thing one expects. A traveller comes from the old world filled with ideas of the sublimity and majesty which the

boundless forests, and vast lakes, and mighty rivers of the American continent must possess and display. Nothing can be more unfounded. In imagination, indeed, he may revel in the thought of the immense solitudes that stretch on all sides around him, and may moralize upon the littleness of man in the presence of his Creator's works, and the trifling part he plays upon the mighty scene; but as far as regards the direct effect of landscape upon the eye, all this, of course, does not apply. Vision has but a limited range, and if all within that range be tame and monotonous, it is but a poor consolation to reflect upon the geographical extent of country similarly characterized. Now in the northern part of America there are few striking features; you hardly ever see a bold rugged outline of mountain, or a naked precipitous rock. The hills are generally round and low, and covered with vegetation to the top; the colouring, too, is monotonous, except for a brief season in autumn: you have not the variety produced either by sterility or by cultivation; for the purple heather and the cold grey stone of European mountain scenery are wanting (heath, I believe, being absolutely unknown), and so, of course, is the smiling richness of a fully-peopled country.

The most remarkable exceptions to this general

character are to be found in the White Mountains of New Hampshire; but on the whole I have no doubt (speaking as well from the information of others, as from what I have seen myself) that the traveller who expects striking or sublime scenery in this part of America will be much disappointed. On the other hand, he will continually meet with scenes of calm and peaceful beauty, where the deep woods and glassy water suggest ideas of silence and solitude, and of living the life of a hunter or a hermit—"the world forgetting, by the world forgot." Such is the character of Lake George (why would they cockneyfy its euphonious Indian name of Horican?) and of the woods and hills which surround it; it is difficult to believe, till one recollects the vastness of the country, that one is in the heart of the wealthy, bustling, early-settled state of New York, so unbroken is the solitude of the forest. Deer are still sometimes, though rarely, seen; and an occasional bear comes down to feed upon the crops.

Ticonderoga, which stands at the head of Lake George, is classic ground; it is situated on a peninsula, commanding the communication with Lake Champlain, and the navigation of the latter. I thought, as I approached it, of the desperate fighting which took place here in 1757, and of which

I remember reading a graphic account in Stewart's military history of the Highland regiments. The only point at which the fort could be attacked was defended by a high breastwork, with the open space before it covered by felled oak-trees; as the leading battalions found these insurmountable, the Highlanders were brought up from the rear, and under a tremendous fire cut their way through the *chevaux de frise* with their broadswords. It was all to no purpose, however; when they arrived, after a terrible loss, at the breastwork, it was found impossible to storm it, and the troops were ordered to retreat, an order which the Highlanders did not obey till two-thirds of their number were killed or wounded.

The remains of the fort and lines are still plainly distinguishable, and their area, partially cleared, though not cultivated, forms a good foreground to one of the most beautiful views which I have seen in America. There is much more variety of surface and of colouring than usual, for the hills are broken and irregular in outline, and there is a good deal of cleared cultivated ground, which was then yellow with crops, and contrasted richly with the everlasting green of the forest. For my part, I soon tire of the Salvator Rosa landscape, of wastes and wilds, of "antres vast and deserts idle," and long for images of human

life and happiness. It is delightful to *visit* cataracts, and mountains, and forests, and enjoy the strong sensations they give birth to; but to *live in*, give me one of the agricultural districts of England, with its parks and manor-houses, cottages and gardens, cattle and cornfields, smiling faces and peaceful homes.

The steamers on Lake Champlain are pre-eminent among American lake and river boats for regularity, speed, and accommodations, and having thereby succeeded in deterring the opposition which everywhere else keeps down profits to the minimum point, pay better than those of any other company. The one I travelled by on my way to Canada, the Burlington, had a crew of forty-two men, and all her operations, such as lowering boats, &c., were conducted with the rapidity and precision of a man-of-war.

We passed Plattsburgh, the scene of our discomfiture under Sir George Prevost in 1813. We certainly managed very badly during the whole of that war; for with infinitely greater resources than those possessed by the enemy, we were always inferior at the point of action, and before its close the Americans had the entire command of Lakes Erie and Champlain. The fact was, that the imaginations of our people at home were filled with the grandeur and importance of the trans-

actions which were going on in Europe, and did not pay sufficient attention to what they only considered a colonial war; and yet what a difference it would have made to us, if the Americans had got possession of Canada, as they had fully made up their minds to do, and would have done, but for the courage and loyalty of the Canadians themselves! That war showed the extreme folly of hostilities between England and the United States, and the hopelessness of making any permanent impression, as far as the Northern States are concerned, on each other's territory. Ths Americans are precluded by their peculiar institutions from organizing or keeping in the field a force of any considerable amount or efficiency (two of the New-England States refused with impunity to supply their contingent of militia, simply because they did not approve of the war); and England is at such a distance from the scene of action, and has such a vast field of operations before her, that her troops can do nothing but make predatory expeditions, which are neither creditable nor advantageous, without a hope of *conquering* any district of country.

The *effective* plan for injuring the United States would of course be, to land an army of free negroes in the south, and proclaim liberty to the slaves; but the results of such a "Jacquerie" as

must ensue would be so terrible, in the plunder and violence which the infuriated blacks would commit, that a British statesman would find it difficult to persuade his countrymen of the lawfulness of such a measure, however clear its policy might be. The probability, however, that in the event of hostilities such a measure would be adopted, has, I see, been taken into consideration by the American authorities, during the course of the late misunderstanding between the countries. The secretary-at-war says, in his report of December 1st, 1841, "The works intended for the more remote southern portion of our territory particularly require attention. Indications are already made of designs of the worst character against that region, in the event of hostilities from a certain quarter, to which we cannot be insensible." And the secretary of the navy, in his report of the same year, observes that, "A war between the United States and any considerable maritime power would not be conducted at this day as it would have been twenty years ago. The first blow would be struck at us through our institutions. No nation, it is presumed, would expect to be successful over us for any length of time in a fair contest of arms on our own soil, and no wise nation would attempt it. A more promising expedient would be sought in arraying what are supposed to be the hostile elements of

our social system against each other. An enemy so disposed, and free to land upon any part of our soil, which might promise success to the enterprise, would be armed with a *fourfold* power of annoyance. Of the ultimate result of such incursions we need not be afraid, but *even in the best event* war upon our own soil would be the more expensive, the more embarrassing, and the more horrible in its effects, by compelling us at the same time to oppose an enemy in the field, and to guard against attempts to subvert our social system." The above passage is quoted in a little pamphlet which I have before me, written by Judge Jay of New York (and in an extremely amiable and impartial spirit) with a view of showing the folly and inexpediency of war in the abstract, the utter inadequacy of its most successful results to the expense and bloodshed which it entails, and (which is the pith of the question) the possibility of its utter "abolition." His comparison of the sacrifices with the results of almost all recent wars is striking and curious; but when he proceeds to propose as practicable the theory of a tribunal of arbitration for the differences between nations, I think he forgets the difficulty of enforcing its decrees. Nations, like individuals, will always be liable to the operation of dishonest motives, and the rogue will never submit to the decree of an arbitrator

who decides against him, unless the arbitrator is backed by sufficient force to compel him.

Nor does the apparent tendency towards democratic institutions make it more likely that prudence will prevail over passion in international concerns. Popular governments have always been prompt to war, for mobs are governed by impulse, they suffer less directly by the burdens which war imposes, and the irresponsibility of individuals removes the strongest barrier against caution. On the other hand, the progress of commerce, and the increasing power of the trading interest, have a highly pacific tendency, and where predominant will probably prevent any war from being of long duration. Of all countries in the world, England and America are the least likely to continue for a long time at war with each other. The cotton-planters of the south, and the manufacturers of Manchester, the cutlers of Sheffield, and the western farmers have too much need of each other to allow it; and though I must say I think the sovereign people in America very bellicose, and can well imagine the possibility of their plunging into a war, upon some wholly inadequate cause, yet I have no doubt that a year of hostilities would bring them to their senses, by the immense depression which all interests would suffer. On England the popular voice would be

slower in making itself felt, but equally effectual in the end; the people feeling the burdens and evils of the war, and not capable of appreciating the (perhaps) greater evils attendant upon a dishonourable peace, exercise sufficient influence to turn out any ministry who should persevere, as Pitt did, in refusing to yield to their wishes. A strong government, whether for good or for evil, there is not (though it is by no means impossible that such a one may be ultimately generated out of the anarchical elements which are floating in the political atmosphere), either in England or America; the executive is not now a power external and objective, curbing and directing the people, but more or less directly their representative, instrument, and echo. If this state of things affords us a security against war, it also has the disadvantage of diminishing our moral influence, of impairing the efficiency of our diplomatic, as well as our military operations, and of emboldening other countries to make aggressions, from which they would be deterred by the fear of a strong executive. If England is more pacifically inclined than other countries, it is because her policy is principally controlled by the monied and middle classes, and by those of the upper ranks who are sufficiently enlightened to see the dangers and the evils of war: America ought to avoid it as cau-

tiously, but *would not*, because the governing body has not such comprehensive views. I have no doubt that the Americans would have made such a proceeding as M'Leod's trial a *casus belli*, without a moment's hesitation. Among the continental governments, on the contrary, where the military class is all-powerful, and where the policy is directed by an irresponsible head, who feels none of the material suffering consequent upon war, there must always be a chance, limited chiefly by the poverty which most of them labour under, of frequent and long-continued wars, because they have comparatively little to lose by them. Democracy and despotism are both warlike, but the former is only calculated for sudden efforts, unless the internal state of the country be such that the *material* interests of the masses would not be promoted by peace: this was the case, perhaps, in France, during the first decade of the French revolution, but can very seldom occur. The influence of property constitutes the *pacific* element of a state; it is only in so far as popular institutions tend to the creation and diffusion of wealth that they obviate war; where they are of such a nature as to drown its voice in that of the lowest class, the "prolétaires," they have a decidedly opposite tendency.

Associations, as every body knows, are the rage

in America; we have seen abolition societies and temperance societies, and now there are "peace" societies exceedingly rife in New England, which correspond, I believe, with a convention in England. I fear till they have succeeded in bringing all countries under the dominion of the Prince of Peace, not only in name, but in truth, we shall have fighting among nations as well as among individuals; and in the meanwhile these gentlemen are wholly unjustifiable in abusing, as they sometimes do, our soldiers and sailors, whom they must admit to be as yet necessary, and who are certainly only doing their duty, and may perform it (as they often do) in a perfectly Christian and peaceful spirit.

With respect to the hostile feeling which is said to exist in America towards England, I think I must confirm the impression, as far as regards the masses of the population, if one may judge from the newspaper press, and the character of the speeches at public meetings; both of which must, to a great extent, be an index of popular feeling, as well as exercise a powerful influence in directing and fostering it in their turn. The statesmen of America, and the educated and wealthy classes generally, far from participating in this feeling, appear to me to entertain and express more friendly sentiments towards us than our countrymen in

general reciprocate; but the popular mind, feeding as it does upon the absurd and exaggerated accounts of the miserable and enslaved state of the lower classes in England, and the pride and privileges of her aristocracy, and taught to consider her as the unnatural parent, and as the only powerful rival of America, politically and commercially, is certainly disposed to detract from her glory, and to exult in her misfortunes.

Towards the French, on the other hand, there is a much less respectful, but much more friendly disposition; this is to be accounted for, partly by the grateful recollection retained by America of the services rendered to her by France in effecting her independence, and which contrasts strongly with the hereditary antipathy towards England nourished by the perusal of American history, partly also by the more sympathetic and hopeful views expressed by French travellers on the subject of America, but chiefly, I have no doubt, by the absence of causes of collision. The policy of France, and that of America, like two parallel lines, never meet; they occupy different provinces of action, and never excite any feelings of rivalry or hostility. Again, the tone of society, and the general habits of thought and expression are far more aristocratic, *i. e.* far more repugnant to those of an American, in England, than in France. I

hardly ever heard of an American residing permanently in England, except for purposes of commerce; while, as every body knows, they occupy a very prominent position in Paris. Paris, not London, is the school of manners, as well as dress, for the travelling Americans of both sexes: its sentiments are imported with its fashions by the young *élégans* of New York and New Orleans *; and though these do not fill an important position in American society, still they are not wholly without influence in leavening the national character.

It is very important to consider these elements of popular feeling in America, as respects the great European nations, because upon that feeling depends American policy; we must recollect that whenever the masses raise their voices, so as not to be mistaken, the federal government must obey, at once: whatever may be the opinion of statesmen, capitalists or judges, it is the popular feeling which must be conciliated, if the American government is to be our friend; and believing, as I do, in the importance to both countries of mutual good feeling, I am sorry and angry when I see people

* I hardly ever saw an American whom I could have mistaken for an Englishman; whereas I saw hundreds every day, whom, till they spoke, I should have passed by in Paris without observation as Frenchmen.

adding needlessly to the irritation for which there already exist so many natural and inevitable causes, for the sake of giving point to a story, and procuring sale for a book.

We arrived at St. John's on the Richelieu, soon after daylight, and had our baggage examined, or rather looked at by some sleepy-looking custom-house officers. We might have smuggled any amount of goods, as far as the capacity of our trunks would allow, without a chance of detection. This was also the case at the American custom-house at Boston, and in both instances I cannot but think that the courtesy which travellers may reasonably expect is carried to an improper pitch. Nobody can detest more than I do the inquisitorial and vexatious proceedings which a traveller has to undergo at the French and German frontiers; but surely there is a medium between such offensive strictness, and the carelessness of the American and Canadian "douanes."

There is a railroad from St. John's to La Prairie, fifteen miles long, the only one in the province: if in the States they have been in too great a hurry, constructing railroads without ascertaining whether there was business for them to do, in our provinces the contrary principle has been carried to perhaps an equal extreme;

not so much, probably, from calculation, as from the circumstance of possessing a smaller command of capital, and of being less actuated by that spirit of reckless and sanguine enterprise, which induces an American to go boldly forward, at any risk, and trust that the general progress which has accomplished such miracles already will bear him out.

I found myself in the midst of a mongrel-looking and mongrel-speaking population, who seemed to talk French and English equally well, or rather equally ill, and to exhibit tolerably equal proportions of French and English, with a dash of Indian blood. The admixture of aborigines is at once observable when the border is crossed; one might travel for months through the Atlantic states of the Union without meeting an Indian, except by chance (I think the only one I have seen was a wandering quack-doctor at Saratoga); but in Canada, which is less thickly peopled, they are still comparatively numerous. The French Canadians, too, fraternise with them far more than the English race; indeed the extent of the intercourse which exists is proved by the numbers of the half-breeds, almost all of whom speak French and Indian promiscuously. These form an important part of the population of Lower Canada, and comprise of course infinite gradations of colour and

feature, from the dark copper hue, high cheek-bones, and underlimbed figure of the full-blooded Huron, to the pure white and muscular proportions of the European race. An Indian is *all bust*, and tapers gradually downwards, the loins and lower limbs being thin and apparently weak; still his speed and powers of endurance in walking and running are unequalled. The keenest English sportsmen and best pedestrians in the province have acknowledged to me that they could not compete with the Indians or half-breeds.

At La Prairie, where I staid for a day with the 74th, after some very bad races, we had an exhibition of Indian ball-play; a good deal of address and great activity were shown, but of course there was none of that keenness and spirit which are described as characterising these contests in the western prairies: the players came from Caughnawauga, an Indian village about nine miles off, and showed comparatively but little red blood.

I now found myself again among friends and countrymen; there is a very large force in Canada (including embodied militia about 18,000 men), and mess-hospitality is unbounded; so that as long as a man continues to travel on the main roads and stop at the large towns he need never dine at his hotel. This is rather fortunate, for the inns in Canada are, it must be confessed, very inferior

to those of the towns in the States; they are exceedingly cheap, generally only charging one dollar per day for lodging and servants and unlimited meals (I forget how many); but they do not shine either in cleanliness or cookery. At La Prairie there are now two regiments, the 74th and the 7th Hussars. I was much struck by the excellence of the cavalry horses; indeed it is universally allowed that the two cavalry regiments now in Canada were never so well mounted before. Most of the horses come from Vermont, the Yorkshire of New England, and the price which is given by the British (125 dollars) is large enough to secure the pick and choice of the whole country; indeed, the Americans complain that they find it almost impossible to get a good horse now in Vermont, our soldiers having swept the market. The horses are generally large strong bays, showing a good deal of blood, and with high showy action, such as would bring in London for a gig or cab from forty to eighty guineas. The Canadian horse (or "punch," as he is called) is of a totally different stamp — short, plain, and cobbish, but extremely hardy and active; they generally bring from fifty to seventy-five dollars.

From La Prairie I crossed the St. Lawrence, here about six miles wide, to Montreal. The view of the town from the water is very fine; behind it

rises the mountain from which it takes its name, partly cultivated, partly covered with wood, and dotted at intervals with cottages and gardens and villas, belonging to the Montreal merchants. Under the mountain is a picturesque old château, with court-yard and turrets, reminding one of Normandy. It belongs to the Jesuits, who are, or were, seigneurs of the whole island of Montreal. Both here and in Quebec the roofs of the houses are covered with tin plates, which produce a most dazzling effect on a sunshiny day; it is only in so dry a climate as this, where you might leave a razor out all night without its showing a spot of rust, that such a plan could be practised. The Roman Catholic cathedral at Montreal is handsome, as far as regards the exterior; the interior arrangements are very paltry, from want of funds, probably, rather than of taste, for the architectural design of the whole is extremely good. It is not saying much for this church to call it the finest ecclesiastical building in North America *; but that so poor a people, comparatively speaking, as the French Canadians, should have erected it, is very curious and characteristic. With them churches

* I do not know, by the bye, whether there may not be handsome churches in the south and west, at New Orleans or St. Louis, where the population was originally Roman Catholic.

come first, railroads afterwards, which appears to us a very paradoxical arrangement. So it is in every part of the New World where the colonists were Roman Catholic, as at Havana and Lima. The first step taken by the colonists was to build a fort for the necessary purpose of defence, the second to build a church; and far from trusting to the economical principle that the demand should precede and would produce the supply, they built it on a scale quite incommensurate with the apparent and actual wants of the inhabitants. We point with exultation to the gratifying results of our own plan, to the moral and religious, as well as *political* superiority of the "Anglo-Saxon" race; there may be a question about that (it depends upon our definition of morality and religion): but admitting that it is so, that superiority is attributable to other things besides the fact that they made the church the *first* object, and we the *last;* whatever be our differences, we should take a lesson from them *in this respect.*

LETTER V.

QUEBEC.

STEAM-BOAT ON THE ST. LAWRENCE — BANKS OF THE RIVER — QUEBEC AND ITS ENVIRONS. — CONDITION OF THE "HABITANS." — CAUSES OF THE LATE REBELLION. — POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE FRENCH PARTY. — SEIGNORIAL TENURES. — MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE. — FIELD-SPORTS OF LOWER CANADA.

Quebec.

FROM Montreal I took the steamer for Quebec, and I must confess that to a novice the voyage, as at present conducted, is somewhat a nervous one. Two steamers start at the same moment, and race, literally neck and neck, the whole way. The pace is, as you may suppose, tremendous; one day this year the Montreal, a new boat, has run the 180 miles to Quebec in nine hours and seven minutes, including stoppages; and up stream they do it constantly in twelve hours.* The fires are

* This steamer, I may observe, burns *English* coal, which may be had very cheap at Quebec; it is brought as ballast by ships returning from England, as they often do, with a short cargo, or none. As yet, I believe, no coal-field has been discovered in the province, but it is to be hoped, that, when its geological formation shall be examined and explored more minutely than has hitherto been the case, this deficiency may be supplied. Coal is almost the only element of wealth which Canada does not already possess.

kept up so fiercely that a continual rush of sparks and burning cinders issues from the chimneys, producing a singular and picturesque effect during the night, and falling so thick upon the after-part of the boats that it is wonderful they do not catch fire oftener than is the case. The rival wharfs where the boats stop to "wood," and which lie close together, present a most busy and animated scene during the ten minutes which it requires to fill the holds and pile the decks, and then another struggle takes place for the lead at starting. I was in the oldest and worst boat on the line, and found the accommodations miserably small and dirty: but the new steamers are apparently quite equal to those on the Hudson and Lake Champlain, in every respect except cleanliness; the multitude of emigrants of the lowest class who travel by them, fresh (?) from a long sea voyage, puts *that* out of the question. The fare for a cabin passage is only two dollars, and this includes one, sometimes, in the case of a long passage, two meals; so that, as you get a night's lodging, it is hardly more expensive to travel these 180 miles than to remain at your hotel. The deck passage is only *one shilling!* All this cheapness and rapidity of communication is Lord Sydenham's doing: when he came out, one company had the monopoly of the St. Lawrence steam navigation, charged any

price they pleased, and spent sometimes from twenty-four to thirty-six hours *en route.* Lord Sydenham proposed to them a reduction of time and charge, and upon their refusal offered the mail and the government patronage to another company, to induce an opposition: the consequence is the unexampled benefit to the public which I have stated. Whatever may be the opinion entertained of Lord Sydenham's policy, all parties agree in acknowledging his great administrative talents, and the energy with which he applied them; the improvement of the provinces received an impulse during his government which could hardly have been conceived to be possible.*

* It seems to me that a tolerably close parallel, in many respects, might be drawn between the administration of Lord Strafford, in Ireland, and that of Lord Sydenham, in Canada. Both the characters of the men, and the circumstances in which they were placed, present much similarity. Each had to mediate between, and to mould to his purposes a minority, bold, self-relying, and democratically inclined, with a majority infinitely more manageable, though by circumstances estranged; each succeeded, by a strong hand and a determined will, in carrying with apparent unanimity measures which were at first distasteful to both parties; each was inflexible in purpose, and unscrupulous in the means which he employed for its accomplishment; each united, in different proportions, enlarged and comprehensive views of general politics, with minute attention to, and knowledge of, commercial details. If Lord Strafford had been in Canada, he would have organised a system of internal communications; if Lord Sydenham had been in Ireland, he would have created the

Nothing can exceed the beauty of Quebec and its environs; till within ten miles of the town the banks of the St. Lawrence are tame and low, but the eye, accustomed to a wild, forest country, is refreshed by the appearance of old civilisation which meets it. I know of no parallel to the very peculiar aspect of this country: along the banks of the river, throughout the whole distance (180 miles), the houses form almost a continuous street, from which the farms run backwards in long narrow strips, divided by zig-zag fences of unhewn logs, about 300 yards in width, and from one to four miles in length, marking the form of the first concessions made to the censitaires, or occupiers, by the seigneurs. Cultivation does not extend above ten or twelve miles to the northward, where it is bounded by the original forest, and you may walk straight to the North Pole without meeting with a human habitation, except an occasional shanty, occupied by Indians hunting for the Hud-

linen trade; the former would have intimidated the Canadian constituencies, the latter would have punished the Connaught juries. One great and important difference there is; the devotion to the interests of religion and the church, which imparts on the whole such an elevating and sanctifying tone to the character of Strafford (however inconsistently he may on some occasions have acted), seems to have had no influence upon Lord Sydenham's public career; and this alone would be sufficient to establish the commanding superiority of the older statesman.

son's Bay Company. As you approach Quebec, the banks become bolder, more precipitous, and varied with wood and rock; and immediately round the town the scenery is certainly magnificent, I hardly know its equal: rocks, woods, cultivated fields, smiling villages, the broad blue river covered with shipping, the steep picturesque town, with its castled rock towering and frowning above all, and towards the north an amphitheatre of wood-covered hills forming the extreme boundary of civilisation, complete a picture to which I have seen nothing on this side of the Atlantic which can for a moment be compared. The town is not unlike the old part of Edinburgh, and though architecturally detestable, is interesting on account of the associations connected with it and its foreign character, for it is as completely French as Rouen.

The neighbourhood presents a thousand objects of picturesque and historical interest, each drive is prettier than the last, and I felt quite sorry at being obliged to allow myself so little time there. The Heights of Abraham and Wolfe's Cove, the Lake St. Charles, a very beautiful piece of water at the foot of the hills to the north, the Indian village of Lorette, the falls of Montmorency, and La Chaudière—in short, all the lions chronicled in the guide-books, have I duly perambulated, without any drawback to my enjoyment except the

badness of the roads and the roughness of my means of conveyance: a Quebec *char-à-banc* and a Quebec road suit each other and nothing else. In no part of the world have I seen a more beautiful country, or a more happily-circumstanced peasantry; they have no taxes whatever to pay, they enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their faith, and bear the support of their own clergy only; each man is the independent proprietor of his own farm; poverty and distress, in our sense of the words, are unknown; for if on any farm there are too many hands for its cultivation, they have only to occupy fresh land, which can be procured at a nominal price, or to go into the States, or the Upper Province, during the harvest, where an industrious man can earn a dollar a day at that season; (and the means of transport, as you have seen, are unrivalled in rapidity and cheapness;) in short, in the utter absence of all real and one would have thought imaginary grievances, it is at first sight quite inexplicable that they could have been induced to revolt, or indeed to wish for any change whatever. It is a most remarkable exception to the rule that generally holds good; namely, that the masses cannot be stirred into insurrection unless they labour under the pressure of some great practical grievance, fancied or real, which they hope to remove by revolt. I have

put the question, What did the "habitans" want? to a hundred people, French and English, and never could obtain a satisfactory answer. They all said "No one knows; it was neither more nor less than madness."

The fact is, that a few intriguing lawyers and political agitators, irritated by the growing ascendency of the English race, and by not possessing what they considered a due share of political influence and executive patronage, went about preaching sedition among these simple "habitans," and disseminating the wildest theories about their becoming "une grande nation Canadienne," in which case gold would flow in upon them, and every thing go well: one village revolted, because they wanted to get rid of a toll-gate; another because the seigneur's mill was too far from them, and so on. By working upon these *grievances* the leaders encouraged disaffection to the government, and thus kept up their own political power: they did not, I believe, generally intend that an open insurrection should take place, for they must have known its hopelessness, but they had raised a spirit which they could not lay; and when the hour of danger came, most of them deserted the followers whom they had misled. The movement was abetted by a few republicans of English race, but the general feeling was anything but radical or American, and originated entirely in

jealousy of the English, absurd ignorance on the part of the people, and ambition on that of their leaders. They are bitterly sorry for their folly now; but of course the burnings and executions which took place during the rebellion, have not tended to allay the bad feeling which existed between French and English, and between the people and the government, so that at this moment, probably, the animosity of race is almost as bitter as it is described to be by Lord Durham. He satisfactorily proves his case, as far as regards the utter separation of the races since the troubles began; his mistake is in supposing that it has always existed, and must be irreconcileable.

The main root of all the difficulties that have occurred in Canada of late years, lies in the mistake made by Mr. Pitt, when he gave the Canadians a representative *constitution* in 1791. Of all people in the world they were the most unfitted for, and the least desirous of it; they were unenterprising, contented, ignorant; they were accustomed to the unquestioned authority of a governor sent from home, and possessed none of those local and municipal institutions, which to an Englishman and an American serve as training schools for political business; they were, in short, the best subjects that could be desired for a monarchy, and the worst possible citizens for a

democratic commonwealth. Lord Durham himself does them the justice to confess, that they are "mild, kindly, frugal, industrious, and honest, very sociable, cheerful, and hospitable, and distinguished for a courtesy and real politeness, which pervades every class of society." He goes on, indeed, to speak of the "freedom and civilisation" to which they would have been "elevated" by popular institutions; — by "freedom," meaning "political power;" and by "civilisation," the progress of material prosperity; — but surely it may well be questioned, whether these are not too dearly purchased, if at the price of the milder and more Christian virtues, of the character which he has described. It was decided, however, that they should not be happy in their own way; that they should enjoy the dignity of self-government, at least in theory and in name. Now the peculiar infirmity of the character of the French Canadians is one intimately connected with its best and most amiable points, namely, a contented ignorance and consequent inclination to rely too implicitly upon those in whom nature or circumstances have induced them to place confidence: this, no doubt, was expected to disappear under the "elevating" influence of a representative constitution; but unfortunately no such result has taken place: the Canadians have ceased, indeed, to be the peace-

able and loyal subjects of a mild and strong centralised government, but it has been in order to become the blind though effective tools of political agitators. They did not become so at once or speedily; it was long before they were taught to use the weapons with which they had been armed: they long returned English representatives to the Assembly, and continued careless of political matters, and undisturbed in their loyalty and affections to the British crown. In 1813, they saved the province by their military exertions, nor till within the last twenty years has any thing like a systematic opposition to government appeared among them.

From whence then did this opposition arise? It appears to me that it was the natural consequence of the course of policy pursued by Great Britain after the concession of the "constitution." The Canadian constitution was to have the form and similitude of the British; but the most important element of the original was to be left out. Great political power was given to them: but hey were forbidden to use it in the manner which had come to be considered every where as natural and just; namely, as the means of acquiring for themselves control over the executive administration of public affairs. It is out of the question, in the nineteenth century in

the midst of a growing democratic feeling, and with the working of the British and American constitutions before men's eyes, to maintain a representative legislative assembly, without what is called "responsible government." It is of no avail to draw a distinction between a colony and an independent state: the imperial authority is represented in the province by the governor; and his veto upon measures which would compromise imperial interests, backed as it is by the military power of the mother country, is sufficient to secure the dependence and subordination of the colony: the "responsibility" of which I speak is that which the heads of departments employed exclusively in colonial matters should be under to the colonial parliament. Till a colony is fitted for exercising this power, it is not fit for a representative constitution; the former is now the necessary corollary of the latter. Without harmonious co-operation between the makers and administrators of the law, no government can work well. I fully admit the advantage of checks and precautions, lest the popular cry of the moment may prevail to effect ill-considered and unnecessary changes; I speak of the *permanent and habitual* relations which ought to exist. Reason would make one expect this; experience has proved it, and in no case more completely than in the history of Lower Canada.

The leaders of the French party, commanding a permanent majority in the Assembly, and debarred at the same time from participation in the official patronage, and from a control over the administrative policy of the state, threw themselves into a system of determined hostility towards a government with which they were not allowed to have sympathies and interests in common, and used the power which had unwisely and inconsistently been put into their hands, so as to bring the affairs of the province to a "dead lock."

It is really difficult to see how we should have extricated ourselves from the embarrassments of such a situation, had it not been for the suicidal insurrection which took place, and which gave to the British government a good excuse for altering the constitution altogether, and providing, by the union of the provinces, for a gradual establishment of British predominance in the whole. At the same time responsible government has been conceded; and though for some time its operation may be inconvenient, from the animosity and disaffection which the rebellion has left behind it, and the power which is still possessed by those whom such feelings actuate, still I have no doubt that both these sources of trouble will pass away under the operation of natural causes, and that the

majority of the Assembly will, at no distant time, be "British," both in race and sentiment.*

Though I am disposed to deny the existence of any "deep-rooted, irreconcileable animosity" to England among the French population generally, there can be no doubt that causes, other than political, have long had a tendency to produce a jealousy and uneasiness with respect to British influence, and consequently to predispose them, in some degree, to listen to the evil counsels of demagogues. In the first place, their priests, who have (as is natural among a simple, religious people) great influence over them, have a direct and positive interest in opposing the increase and advance of the British population. In defiance of every principle which we have been maintaining at home (as well as of the essential idea of a religious endowment), the payment of tithes with which we found the land burdened, and of which we guaranteed the assured possession, as of right, has been made dependent upon the religion of the

* I made the acquaintance at Quebec of some of the most eminent among the leaders of the French Canadian party (an advantage seldom enjoyed by English travellers), and as I afterwards associated largely both with members of what is called the British party in Lower Canada, and with the Tories of the Upper Province, I cannot at any rate accuse myself of coming to a conclusion upon exparte evidence. I conversed freely and unreservedly with all, and endeavoured to elicit the truth from a comparison of the opposing arguments.

occupier; *i. e.* a Roman Catholic may be compelled by law to pay: but if he becomes a Protestant, or a Mahometan, or an Atheist, he escapes payment, though he bought his land subject to the burden, and paid so much less in consequence. The same result of course takes place if a Roman Catholic sells to a Protestant, &c., so that there is a direct premium upon such a conversion or sale, and the priests are proportionably losers by it. I will not enlarge upon the unjust and disorganizing tendency of the principle involved in this system, and the enormous inconsistency which it presents with our European practice; I am now only concerned in pointing out the effect which it must have in producing an anti-British spirit among the clergy. They have always, it is true, been considered loyal to British *connection*, indeed it is still very much their interest to be so, for if Canada were to become incorporated with the United States, they well know what the result would be with respect to tithes; but it is impossible for them not to look with an evil eye upon the growing preponderance of the British race in the province. Their religious feelings, as well as their temporal interests, forbid it, and induce them to exert all their influence in preserving the exclusively French character of the country. It is difficult to reconcile the statements of the great

influence and unsullied loyalty of the clergy, with the universal disaffection of their flocks; and I can only account for it on the supposition that that influence was neutralized to a great extent by the inconsistent nature of the interests which it was exerted to support: the *anti-English spirit* which they had cultivated, was too strong for the *loyalty to Great Britain* which they would have wished to accompany it; and the people were found to listen more willingly to those who directed their attacks against the British government as well as the English race, than to their spiritual advisers.

Another source of disaffection was the fear of interference on the part of the government with their laws and customs respecting tenure; these are, as you know, peculiar, and of a feudal nature. Grants were originally made by the crown of large tracts of land on the banks of the rivers, called seigneuries, on condition that the seigneurs should regrant them in subdivisions to any body who would engage to clear and cultivate them. The rent which the seigneur is allowed to demand for these "concessions" is very moderate, sometimes almost nominal, and the principal part of his income consists in a duty called lods et ventes, of one thirteenth of the purchase-money upon every transfer by sale (not by devise or de-

scent) of property within his seigneurie: this, of course, operates to a certain extent as a discouragement to the investment of capital in improving land, as the toll which the seigneur is entitled to claim rises in proportion to the rise in its value; being a tax upon sales, too, it necessarily tends to keep land out of the market, and is peculiarly distasteful to the English, as being the aggressive, or purchasing interest. In other respects the occupier is, to all intents and purposes, the proprietor of his farm, as the rent can never be raised; and he may keep it, or dispose of it, as he pleases. The seigneurs were empowered to reserve a certain "domaine" in each seigneurie, in their own hands, generally about half a league square; the water-powers also belong to them, which occasionally turn out very profitable. On the other hand, the seigneur is bound to make roads, and build mills at prescribed distances, at which his tenants are bound to grind their corn. Upon the sale of a seigneurie, one fifth of the purchase-money goes to the crown as seigneur suzerain; and to preserve this source of revenue, it is forbidden by law to dismember them, by compounding with the tenants for rents and incumbrances. The old seignorial families have almost all gone to decay; and but for the tax upon sales, I suppose nearly all the seigneuries

would, ere now, have passed into the hands of merchants and capitalists. A commission is sitting in order to report upon the expediency of removing that tax, and a commutation of all seignorial rents and dues is also under discussion; it has already taken place in the island of Montreal, by special enactment, and the English population are very anxious to have it made compulsory every where. The Canadians, on the contrary, wish things to remain as they are; and I confess I cannot see the justice or expediency of irritating them by cramming reform down their throats. The whole system, though certainly inconsistent with the strict principles of political economy, and consequently *pro tanto* unfavourable to material progress, is not, by any means, really burdensome: the occupiers are far more independent of their landlords than is the case in any European country; and it is only the neighbourhood of the United States and Upper Canada, where the tenant is almost always owner in fee simple, which makes the English colonists discontented with the tenure which they found, bought the land subject to, and voluntarily submitted to hold by. It is quite right to afford facilities for commuting, when both parties wish it; but I greatly dislike the fashion which prevails of disregarding habits, and feelings, and vested rights, in the pursuit of

what is called "the good of the whole," that is, generally speaking, the increased wealth of a noisy minority.

I confess I have a strong sympathy for the French Canadians; they are "si bons enfans." I remember canvassing at Boston with an American gentleman the expression used with regard to French Canada, by a late English traveller, that it was "a province of Old France, without its brilliancy or its vices." My friend's remark was, "What remains after so large a subtraction?" But I thought, and still think, the expression graphic and just. There remains a "fonds" of contentment, *gaieté de cœur*, politeness springing from benevolence of heart, respect to their superiors, confidence in their friends, attachment to their religion—a character, in short, resembling what Madame de Larochejaquelein describes as existing among that part of the French population which had not been poisoned by the age of Louis the Fifteenth and the Revolution. If the Americans get hold of them, however, they will soon, to use an expressive phrase of their own, "improve them off the face of the earth," for they look upon them simply as obstacles to the necessary march of the times. Improvement, no doubt, in agriculture, road-making, commercial enterprise, and "economical" progress of all kinds,

they are much in want of; but there are tendencies in modern society to many things so much worse than bad roads and bad farming, that it would not, by any means, grieve me to see them remain as they are. The shortest and surest way to spoil them, was to give them political power, throw them into the hands of demagogues, and then force those demagogues into opposition and disaffection. *Hic fons et origo malorum est.*

Quebec is full of guardsmen, most of whom are very anxious to get out of the country, of which they are heartily tired. At first, I can fancy a *séjour* here presenting a very agreeable variety, but men accustomed to London can seldom bear to live so long away from it as four years. The field-sports are tolerable; there is pretty good snipe and duck shooting, and on the Saguenay, about seventy miles down the river from Quebec, excellent salmon fishing. I have heard of performances there which quite surpass anything to be met with in Norway, as far as regards the number of fish caught, but the average size was not so good. In winter the only sport is moose hunting; and last year these animals were so numerous, and the state of the snow so favourable for running them down, that the officers of one battalion killed, I think, fifty during the season. They describe it as rather tame work; no skill is required, and

sometimes very little trouble, for if the snow is soft and deep the moose gets knocked up immediately, and you have only to despatch him at your leisure: however, when the snow is hard, he gives a long and exciting run (upon snow shoes too, which are any thing but a pleasant *chaussure*), and the hunters have to bivouac very often in the woods. I wonder why the skidor or snow-skates, which are used in Norway and Sweden, have never been introduced here.* I suppose, however, the ground is seldom open enough here for any considerable distance to use them with effect. There are also a few of the carriboo (the American name for reindeer) to be met with as far south as Quebec, but they are very difficult to get at. I only heard of one being killed last winter.

The society at Quebec is not on a pleasant footing for military men quartered there, being divided so strictly into French and English, and the former, who predominate, not mixing nearly so willingly with the latter here as at Montreal. For the sake of the field-sports, however, I think the officers generally prefer it.

* An experienced performer will run with them *on favourable ground* at from six to eight miles an hour. There used to be a corps in the Norwegian army practised in the use of the skidor, and taught to go through their evolutions on them.

LETTER VI.

MANOR-HOUSE, A——L.

IRISH EMIGRANTS. — THEIR LOYALTY. — TRADE OF MONTREAL. — LOSS OF THE SHAMROCK. — HIGH-PRESSURE STEAMBOATS. — SCENERY OF THE OTTAWA. — ADVANTAGES POSSESSED BY ENGLISH CLIMATE. — ITS EFFECTS ON HEALTH AND BEAUTY. — THE MANOR-HOUSE. — PROSPECTS OF EMIGRANT FARMERS IN LOWER CANADA. — VILLAGE CHURCH. — WHEAT CROP. — THE "FLY."

FROM Quebec I returned by the steam-boat to Montreal. We had a number of emigrants on board, and all the evening there was wonderful fiddling and dancing of jigs among the Canadian boatmen and the Irish emigrant girls. The former are quite French in their love of festivity: there used, I am told, to be a good deal of drunkenness among them, but almost every individual is now a member of a temperance society, and consequently very little drinking goes on. My countrywomen, too, seemed nothing daunted by the effects of their sea-voyage, or the thoughts of the change of scene and fortunes which they were undergoing, and the merriment and noise were unbounded. There has been an immense emigra-

tion this year already, and it is not near over yet: 37,000* have been entered at the port of Quebec, besides a large number (which I have heard variously stated at from 5000 to 20,000) who have come over from the United States, not finding employment there in consequence of the discontinuance of public works, and the general stagnation which prevails. When an emigrant ship arrives, those who are in want of servants or labourers go down to the wharf, so that a man is often hired within five minutes of his landing. Generally, however, they refuse to stop in the lower province, very foolishly as it often turns out: but Upper Canada is their Eldorado; besides, the climate here is so severe that they are afraid of it. There are a good many Irish about Montreal and Quebec, but very few go out into the country; indeed there is not the same demand for them here as in the Upper Province and the States, for the French Canadian population form (what is *there* altogether wanting) a *permanent* labouring class. The British never look upon

* The total return at the end of the year was 45,000, which was the greatest increase to the population of the province that ever took place in one year. In 1832 (I think) the number entered at Quebec was 52,000, but at that time the current of transmigration ran into, not out of, the United States, and carried away perhaps a fourth of that number.

service or labour in any other light than as a means of saving sufficient money to buy and stock land with; so that as they go off, there is a continually recurring demand to be supplied. It is singular that in the late rebellion there were no instances, I believe, of the Irish Roman Catholics joining the insurgent Canadians; this circumstance shows that the war possessed nothing of a religious character, but was the result entirely of national or generic influences.

At Montreal I met D——, who has got leave of absence for a month, and is going up to the Falls with me. Our present abode is the manor-house of a seigneurie on the banks of the Ottawa, where we have been most kindly and hospitably received by a gentleman to whom we had letters of introduction, and who is agent to the proprietor. We came by stage to La Chine, to avoid the rapids; there is also a canal, which serves the same purpose for the small steamers which ply on the Rideau, and carry on the principal part of the provision trade between the Upper Province and Montreal; a trade, of the extent of which I had no idea before. The town itself is rich and flourishing, though at the present moment suffering under a temporary depression, similar to, and partly consequent upon, that which prevails at home. Commercial distress, however, here as in

the States, exhibits a very different aspect from that which is presented by a similar state of things in Europe. Capitalists fail, and incomes are reduced perhaps one half; but what we call destitution, that is, starvation, is unknown. There is still a sufficient disproportion between the demand for and the supply of labour, to leave a wide margin round the minimum rate of wages,—that namely, which enables the labourer to purchase the necessary articles of subsistence for himself and his family. A traveller would observe no difference in the apparent occupation of the people; their wages fall, indeed, though not in proportion to the fall of profits, but they are still high as compared to our rates, and no individual is ever thrown on the community for support. There are neither beggars nor poor-laws in Canada, and though both must eventually come, I trust that time is yet distant.

From La Chine we came up the Ottawa or Grand River by steam. Close to the mouth of it we passed the wreck of the Shamrock, a small high-pressure steamer or "puffer" as they are called here, which blew up some time ago on her passage from Montreal to Kingston. Sixty-three lives were known to be lost; in fact, the boat flew all to pieces, and shattered, besides, two barges which she was towing. Almost all the

sufferers were English agricultural emigrants, many of them small capitalists (the class of all others which makes the best colonists), who had all their money with them. Thirty or forty were saved, and the scenes which took place after their landing are described as heart-rending: in one case a family of young children were left orphans and penniless, the father and mother having been killed; wives had lost their husbands, and parents their children; in fact, I think there was but one *family* which escaped without the loss of a member — they happened to have taken their position all together close to the stern, the only part of the boat which held together, and they only escaped (to use the scriptural phrase), "with the skin of their teeth;" all their property was lost. This terrible accident has naturally created a great sensation, and produced strong representations to the government as to the expediency of prohibiting the use of high-pressure boats, and of checking the reckless emulation which opposition is producing on the St. Lawrence. For my part, if people with their eyes open like to run the chance of being blown up for the sake of cheapness and speed, I do not see that it is at all the province of government to interfere; if there were a demand for slower pace and greater care, it would no doubt be supplied; and it is far better to let

the public take care of its own interest in these matters. With the emigrants, however, perhaps this principle does not apply; for, from their ignorance and inexperience, they can hardly be said to be free agents, and always take the cheapest route, without farther inquiry: at least every means should be taken to warn them of the risk they incur. It is only within the last year or two that high-pressure steamers have been introduced into the Canadian waters at all, and they swarm now upon the Rideau, for the canal navigation of which they are peculiarly well adapted, on account of the smaller space which their engines require. Wood, too, is still cheap in these parts, so that the additional quantity which they consume is not of so much importance; and they are spared the expense attending the condensing apparatus both in first cost and subsequent repairs.

The scenery on the Ottawa is pretty, though tame, and varied by rapids, more or less steep and intricate. It is the scene, you know, of Moore's song, beginning,—

"Ottawa's tide, the trembling moon," &c.

And St. Ann's, where the boatmen hoped to "sing their evening hymn," is about half-way between this place and La Chine: formerly it was the outpost of civilisation in this direction;

and at the church there, those who started on, or returned from, a voyage through the wilderness, performed their devotions.

This is a complete specimen of a "settlement" of the better order: the house is prettily situated in a small clearing on the banks of the river, and is surrounded by beautiful forest scenery, from which it derives, by the way, an unlimited supply of mosquitoes.

In comparing the advantages of our climate with those of others, we do not, I think, lay sufficient stress upon the absence of this most detestable of plagues. Where there is much wood and water, they wholly prevent walking in the summer with any degree of comfort, for the moment you get under the shade of the trees they attack you; and a new-comer, unaccustomed to their attacks, soon becomes absolutely "méconnoissable" from the effects of them. The moment the candles are lighted of an evening, they swarm into the house: in vain you strive to exclude them by shutting windows and doors; the only result of your precautions is to keep out the fresh air; the mosquitoes laugh at them; and then at night! —but the misery of a mosquito-haunted night surpasses so far my powers of description that I will not attempt it. It is curious that with old settlers mosquito bites do not swell or inflame, as

in the case of novices; but even the most experienced hunters suffer enough to make them "taboo" the woods in the hot season, unless driven into them by necessity.

Not only in this, but in other respects, the more I travel the more reconciled I become to our own much-abused climate, both because it permits (as Charles the Second said) out-of-door exercise for more hours in the day, and more days in the year, on an average, than any other, but also because I feel sure that its temperate, moist character is more favourable to the production of a vigorous robust habit of body. If the superiority in breadth and depth of chest, strength of limb, and general development of muscle which distinguishes the upper class in England from that of other countries were peculiar to that class, one might attribute it to the practice of field sports, and other habits of life, which perhaps depend as much upon the structure of society as upon climate; but it certainly appears to me that the same difference in favour of England is observable among the commercial and labouring classes, the former of which must be equally sedentary, the latter pretty equally the reverse, in all countries; or at least, if there be a difference, that difference is attributable to climate, and may fairly be set down among its advantages. A very able and intelligent traveller,

Mr. Laing, who is well acquainted with continental Europe, remarks that such men as form our household troops and the grenadier companies of our regiments of the line, hardy, muscular, broad-shouldered, well-limbed men, are hardly to be met with abroad; and my own observation, both there and in America, induces me to agree fully in his view. In America, particularly, no man who can help it ever walks any distance, and very few ride on horseback. You see young men driving about in carriages and waggons every where, both in town and country, and nothing surprises them more than the proposal of a long walk, either for purposes of sport or exercise. In summer, the weather is too hot and relaxing; in winter, the cold is too great, and the snow is on the ground, which makes walking, except on beaten roads, disagreeable; and in spring, the country is all cut up with rain and melting snow, so that the latter part of the autumn is the only season of the year which really suits for active exercise on foot.

Between American and English women the difference in apparent health, vigour, and *embonpoint* is as remarkable as among the men; this indeed is universally admitted; and most American patriots consider the difference as in favour of the American style of beauty: but surely those

who do so, lose sight of the true principles of taste. The pleasure which the sight of beauty produces, like that which is derived from the sound of music, depends (whether we know it or not at the time) upon the associations which its character suggests to the mind; and in proportion as it indicates the existence of more or fewer of those endowments, spiritual and physical, which contribute to make the individual a perfect specimen of the kind, it approaches more or less nearly to perfection itself. Now if this theory be sound —and I think it can hardly be disputed—how can those peculiarities of form or feature—such as extreme delicacy or paleness of complexion, unnatural transparency of skin, or disproportionate slenderness of waist or limb — which indicate more or less plainly weakness or disorder, that is, defect and imperfection of some part of the animal organisation, be otherwise than repugnant to the true "idea" of beauty, by marring the completeness and harmony which is of its essence? I fully admit that the effect of a highly spiritualised, though sickly—or as it is, *euphoniæ gratiâ*, called—delicate countenance, may and ought to be most pleasing, and of a far higher character than that produced by one which exhibits the most robust health *without* intellectuality. I only contend against the idea, which I hear constantly put for-

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ward, that beauty may be absolutely *enhanced* by appearances which suggest the absence of health and vigour in all their fulness and perfection. But this is a digression. That the acknowledged deficiencies in this respect, which affect female beauty and its early decay, are attributable, in a great measure, to the dryness of the climate, and its extremes of heat and cold, I am confirmed in believing, by the opinion of a very intelligent American physician, who told me that in many instances he had known American ladies recover flesh, complexion, and youthful appearance, by a residence in England, after having lost them here, apparently for life. The converse, that is, the deterioration of those characteristics among emigrants, is obvious, and nearly universal.

Our hosts complain a good deal of the want of society, and still more of the want of servants: the last is a serious grievance to people accustomed to be waited upon. They never can get any but raw labourers, such as

> " Dall' alte selve irsuti manda
> La divisa dal mondo ultima Irlanda "—

just landed, and wholly unaccustomed to indoor work; and by the time the employers have succeeded in training them a little, they have probably saved some money, and go off to try their fortune in taking land, which is the great object

of every body's ambition here. I was a good deal amused by discovering in Mr. ——'s present menial a fellow-*county* man, from the mountains of Leitrim, very lately caught.

There is a good demand for labour here, at two shillings for a day's wages; and the supply from emigration is, as in all the agricultural districts of Lower Canada, by no means so large as one would expect. Provisions are cheap—1*s.* per bushel for oats; 1*s.* 8*d.* per bushel for barley; from 2*d.* to 3*d.* per lb. for beef and mutton, and not above three farthings per lb. for pork, are the common prices. Wheat will be this year probably not more than 3*s.* per bushel; building, too, is very cheap, from the abundance of material, but all articles of luxury are dear, particularly manufactures. I am inclined to think that in the mania for Upper Canada people injudiciously neglect the Lower Province. The climate is certainly far more severe here, and consequently as an agricultural country it can never rival Upper Canada; but on the other hand, cleared land here does not cost more than wild land farther west, in consequence of the unpopularity of the seignorial tenures, and the desire that the British emigrants have to be among their countrymen. In the mean time, the French Canadians, who have no idea of manuring or succession of crops, are ready

to sell their farms for a very small sum when they have "exhausted" them, as they call it. It takes three or four years to get the land into heart again; but it is then very good, and generally more convenient to markets than is the case in the Upper Province. A respectable English farmer told me the other day that he had bought ninety acres of land, which would be worth 30*s.* a year, per acre, in England, all cleared, and free from rent and every encumbrance, for 560*l.* There have been hitherto obstacles to such purchases, produced not only by the tax upon sales, which I mentioned before, but by the difficulty of discovering the mortgages and other charges affecting the land, and consequently of getting a secure title; but now the latter will be removed: for under Lord Sydenham's administration registry offices have been established every where, at which all encumbrances must be registered before the 1st of January next, and after that time it is expected that a great deal of property will change hands. For this very reason, in addition to motives of more general applicability, the measure, so obviously desirable in an economical point of view, has always been more or less avowedly opposed by the French Canadians, from an instinctive reluctance to facilitate the acquisition of property by

individuals of British race; nor would there, I am told, have been a chance of carrying it through the House of Assembly, as formerly constituted.

One of the chief disadvantages attending the position of English emigrants in Lower Canada is the want of educational establishments conducted on the principles of the Church of England. I am glad to hear that this deficiency is about to be supplied by the establishment of a grammar-school and college at Lenoxville, in the eastern townships. The government has made a considerable grant towards it, and all the shares which were left in the market (of 25*l.* each) have been taken up. The Bishop of Montreal is to be the principal, and the model of our universities is to be followed as far as circumstances will admit. All the pupils will board and lodge within the walls, so as to be subject to the rules and discipline of the institution, and it is to have the power of conferring degrees of Law, Divinity, and Medicine. I hear the buildings are in progress, and will soon be ready for the reception of students.

Most part of this seigniory is peopled by English and Scotch settlers; there are also some Americans, who are as usual the most active and prosperous farmers on the estate, and invariably prosper, and a colony of Irish, who are very much

the reverse. Mr. —— tells me they are all deeply in debt, even at the very low rent which they are liable to pay (1*l.* 4*s.* per lot of ninety acres), and cannot be prevailed upon to exert themselves, or improve their condition.

On Sunday we went to church at a neighbouring village, where we saw a congregation of very well-dressed and respectable-looking people: they almost all came on horseback or in the waggons of the country, which during service were tied to the railings of the churchyard. As in all the American villages, there are here places of worship for more varieties of Protestantism than Bossuet ever dreamed of. After service, we visited some of the farmers' and peasants' houses. The latter were French Canadians, and delighted me much by the courteous, respectful — I was going to say gentlemanlike — manner with which they received, and talked to us. Their language is of course not Parisian, but perfectly intelligible to any one who is a tolerably good French scholar, much more so indeed than is the case in many of the provinces of old France. The houses are generally good-sized, tolerably furnished, and clean; the beds particularly comfortable-looking, and there is invariably a large stove. The costume of both men and women is picturesque, from the variety of colours which they make use of.

The former wear a light grey jacket and trousers, invariably a red sash round the waist, and a blue woollen cap; the latter a dark bodice, blue or red petticoat, and high head-dress, like that which is worn in the south of France—ribands and handkerchiefs to a dazzling amount: both sexes wear moccasins instead of shoes. These Canadian labourers live in a kind of rustic plenty, eating meat every day except "jours maigres," and having always barley and oaten meal *ad libitum*. Till within the last three or four years they always had wheaten bread, each man growing enough for his own consumption; but latterly they have almost ceased to sow any on account of the "fly," of which we have been hearing so much, and are reduced to live on the inferior grain, which is considered a great hardship. This fly has come up, like all barbarous invaders, from the eastward, and having ravaged Maine, New Brunswick, and the Quebec district, is now threatening the frontiers of Upper Canada. No preservative has been discovered against its attacks; but in those districts where it first appeared they got rid of it, I am told, by ceasing to sow any wheat for two or three years, so that it died out, for want of nourishment, and this plan will probably be adopted by common consent throughout this

province. The Upper Canadians look upon the approach of the fly with great dread, as it almost entirely destroys the wheat crop. The wheat grows up and shoots into ear, the ear fills, and apparently ripens, and an inexperienced eye might fancy that the crop was quite healthy and promising; but a closer examination will show the heart of each grain completely eaten away, so that nothing is left but the husk and the fly within it. I examined several fields in this neighbourhood, and found them all more or less infected. The wheat sown in the autumn has, it seems, the best chance of escaping, as much of it ripens before the fly makes its appearance; but the winter of Lower Canada is considered too severe to admit of this plan being generally adopted; all the old settlers, at least, sow their wheat in spring.

Yesterday we drove to another village on the seigniory about nine miles off, where the seignior has a mill, according to one of his privileges, or duties. The drive through the woods and clearings was pretty, and the weather lovely in the extreme. For the last week it has been hot, but not oppressive, and with a peculiar haze in the atmosphere, such as I have never seen at home, which tempers the glare of the sun, and produces a beautiful softening effect upon the scenery.

D—— went out with his gun in a canoe with a Canadian, and brought home two wild ducks. We have been bathing occasionally from a raft in the river, but find the enjoyment hardly worth the trouble of undressing and dressing under a burning sun.

LETTER VII.

KINGSTON.

BYTOWN. — CHAUDIÈRE FALLS. — "LUMBER" TRADE. — POLICY OF THE LATE ALTERATION IN THE TARIFF. — RIDEAU CANAL. — VOYAGE TO KEMPTVILLE. — FOREST CLEARINGS. — SCENERY OF THE WOODS. — THE "THOUSAND ISLANDS." — KINGSTON.

Walmsley, August.

AFTER leaving our friend Mr. ——'s hospitable roof, we proceeded by stage round the rapids to Grenville, and from thence by steam to Bytown, altogether some eighty miles, a night's work, arriving there at four o'clock in the morning. Bytown is a very singular-looking place, situated on the top of a high rocky hill, the sides of which are covered with brushwood, principally cedar, and very precipitous: it might be made, I should think, a second Gibraltar, in point of strength; for which reason, as well as from its central position, it has been suggested, that the seat of government, for the United Canadas, should be established there. From the highest point, where the barracks are placed, there is a beautiful view of the Ottawa, studded with islands and broken by rapids, and especially of a fine fall, called (like

many others in Lower Canada) the Chaudière, about half a mile above the town, which places a bar to the further navigation of the river. Above the falls the river is again navigable, and there is steam all the way up to the head of the Lake des Chats, which is now the principal seat or channel of the "lumber" trade. Formerly the fur traders took this route in starting upon their annual trips into the wilderness; but since that time the adjacent regions have been so thoroughly hunted out, that they find it better to penetrate at once into the far north-west by way of Lake Superior and the Red River. In those days Montreal was the chief depôt of the fur trade; now, for the reasons which I have stated, they all go northward, and are embarked from Hudson's Bay for England; so that the very furs, which are sold in Quebec and Montreal, have made a voyage across the Atlantic, and been dressed in England. This sounds strange to us, who naturally suppose that buffalo and racoon skins, &c. must be far cheaper in their native country than in Europe, whereas the reverse is the case.

On one side of the Chaudière falls an inclined plane has been constructed for the descent of timber-rafts, and while we were there we saw one go down it with great rapidity: it seemed pleasant and safe, but occasionally, we were told, lives

are lost by the breaking up of a raft in the descent. Bytown owes its origin to the Rideau canal, which here strikes the Ottawa, completing the line of communication between Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence: it was made by the direction, and at the expense, of the Imperial government, subsequently to the late war, for the purpose of affording a secure military communication between the provinces, in case the navigation of the St. Lawrence should be in the power of the Americans. In the mean time it serves a very important commercial purpose, pending the completion of the St. Lawrence canal. The level of the Rideau is here eighty feet above that of the Ottawa, with which it is connected by eight magnificent locks, each ten feet high. I am not engineer enough to appreciate the full merit of these works, which have immortalised Col. By, their constructor; but even to my unscientific eye they appear wonderful, covering the face of the hill like a gigantic flight of steps. Fifteen years ago there was not a tree cut in the forest where Bytown stands, and it now, I am told, numbers upwards of 3000 inhabitants. The effect of this rapid growth is very curious (as regards the appearance of the place)—it is, in fact, half a town and half a wood: the stumps are scattered through the gardens of the houses, and pine-trees

through the streets, so that points of view might actually be selected in the middle of the town where you would almost lose sight of buildings altogether, and might fancy yourself in the primeval forest. When we arrived, there were no less than five steamers at the wharf, and many more arrived and departed in the course of the day, though trade is unusually stagnant, and every body is complaining.

There is hardly a person in or about Bytown who is not connected with the lumber (*i. e.* timber) trade, which, by the recent alterations in the tariff, reducing the protection of colonial against foreign timber from 45*s.* to 24*s.* per load, has been, for the present at least, almost annihilated; for, owing to the enormous supply which has been poured into the market for the last two years, and the sudden check given to the demand by the expectation of getting cheap timber, when the new duties come into operation, and of a large supply from the Baltic, there is now at Quebec alone a quantity said to be sufficient for the whole expected consumption of the next year, even if not another tree be cut. It is impossible but that when so important an alteration is made there must be much individual suffering, before capital and labour can be diverted into new channels; and, perhaps, a sufficient time was not allowed, nor sufficient warning

given to those whose interests were at stake: but there is no subject on which I find well-informed and disinterested people so unanimous as they are in considering the enormous protection and encouragement given to the colonial lumber trade as not only wasteful on the part of England, but absolutely prejudicial to the colony.

The plan pursued in the trade is this: the "lumberer," generally a settler up the country, who has little or no capital of his own, contracts with a merchant in Quebec or Montreal for the supply of a certain quantity of timber; the latter then advances to him large quantities of pork, flour, &c., for winter supplies, and he proceeds to hire axemen, to the number which he requires, from ten to fifty; with these he plunges into the woods about October; and when he has arrived at the place which he has selected, and where he has obtained leave from the crown to cut timber, he begins operations by constructing "shanties," or log huts, where the men live during the time that they are at work. They "chop" all the winter, drawing the logs, as they cut them, to the rivers, and laying them, after being marked, upon the ice, so that when the thaw comes they are floated down to certain points where booms are placed, and where the respective owners collect their own logs, form them into large rafts, and float them

down to Quebec, where the current price at the time is paid by the contractor, the value of his advances being deducted. Now though in good years this current price may not only repay all charges, but leave a large profit to the lumberer, yet at other times the price, dependent on the demand in England, may be so low as to leave him unable to repay the advances which have been made to him, and discharge the wages of the woodmen; in which case he "breaks," and there is an end of him. A peculiarly gambling and irregular character is thus given to the trade, and constitutes one of the great objections to it; but another and still more important one is, the moral effect which it produces upon the axemen employed, (whose numbers are so great as to leaven, to a very important extent, the character of the whole population,) and the impediment thrown in the way of agricultural operations by the immense wages which they earn. These men, generally Canadians, half-breeds, and Irish of the lowest description, have actually been in the habit of receiving eighteen and twenty dollars per month, besides their "keep" while in "shanty." This is paid to them all at once, at the end of their six or eight months' work, when the timber is disposed of, and the consequence is, that becoming suddenly possessed of, perhaps, 30*l.*, and thrown among the temptations of a large town, after a long sojourn in the woods, they

plunge into every kind of debauchery and extravagance, and frequently at the end of a fortnight are as penniless as when they arrived. In the mean time, the premium offered by the lumberers is so high, that it is impossible, in any of the neighbouring districts, for the farmer to get an able-bodied labourer under twelve or fourteen dollars per month (besides "keep"); the consequence is, that he cannot, in general, afford to attempt the cultivation or clearing of more land than the labour of himself and his family is sufficient to deal with. England, therefore, was paying an immense sum annually for inferior timber into the pockets partly of a very bad species of gambling speculators, and partly of these demoralised lumber-men; to the latter of whom, at least, it was of hardly any advantage, from the way in which they usually spent it, and who would have been employed with far more profit, ultimately, both to themselves and to the country, in bringing wild land under the plough. Each year, too, as the forest recedes, and the expense, consequently, of bringing timber to market increases, the greater is the risk of loss, and the amount of protection required, and the smaller the proportion which the gain of the producer bears to the loss of the consumer. We are apt to forget that the only advantage, in a commercial point of view, which colonies

afford to us, is the possibility of *securing* free trade with them. If there were free trade all over the world, we should derive from them no profit whatever; so that if we voluntarily give up that advantage and tax ourselves to an immense amount for the benefit of those colonies, by means of differential duties, the sooner they cease to possess a claim for such favour the better for the English manufacturer and consumer. I have been rather long on this topic, but I think it will interest you to hear of the mode of proceeding in this business; and also, because a great outcry is raised both here and at home against the discouragement which has been given to it; and it is necessary to understand how it works, before one can judge of the policy of the change. They say nearly 20,000 men have been employed in this trade for some years upon the Ottawa and its tributaries. It is curious to see them floating down upon the huge rafts: they build huts of birchen bark upon them, hoist sails if the wind is favourable, and use their oars when it is not, singing all the time at the top of their voices. We had as many as seven of them, with their streamers flying, within sight at one time, as we came up the river.

After spending a day at Bytown, we started in a miserable little steamer to go up the Rideau canal as far as Kemptville, where we met a stage-

waggon, which took us across to Prescott on the St. Lawrence. We took this line, as it is very tedious to go up the whole way to Kingston by the Rideau: there are such a number of locks to be passed, and the steamers are so much retarded by towing barges, that their rate of speed is not more than three miles an hour on an average. Though the heat was great I enjoyed this journey very much. The banks of the canal and river are not pretty, but the country is interesting, as it exhibits the progress of "clearing" in every stage, from the actual chopping with which operations are commenced to the fully-cultivated farm. The wild land on the banks sells at from two to five dollars an acre, and is bought freely. I saw one settlement where an Irishman, who began to chop in March, and employed only one pair of hands besides his own, had been able to sow between three and four acres of wheat in May, besides nearly as much more of potatoes and other things, and all his crops looked most promising as we passed. The settlers neither dig nor plough the land the first year; but as soon as they have cleared it of wood and burnt the useless logs, they sow the grain *on the surface*, and "drag" or harrow it in: the decayed vegetable matter which has accumulated on the ground, and become a loose soft mould, produces a good crop

without further preparation. On the banks of the rivers they get a good market for the wood as fuel for the steamers; in other places they make potash of it.

We saw a good number of wild ducks and plover as we came up, and were told that even deer sometimes came within shot on the banks, so I loaded my gun, and presently was fortunate enough to get a long shot and kill a duck with one of Eley's cartridges from the deck. The crew were delighted with this feat; and the mate, a Yankee, paid me the somewhat equivocal compliment of saying, "Well, you're a smarter chap with a piece *than I took you for.*" We got into our waggon at Kemptville, and started on an execrable road, leading through some fine woodland scenery, for the great river. The timber in the interior is much finer than on the banks of the streams, where the best trees have been cut; but hardly any where does one see such *gross* trees as in an English park: they are very high, and most of them branchless nearly to the top. The finest generally in this part of the country are elm, bass-wood, maple, and hemlock (the good pines and oaks having fallen long ago before the axe throughout the settled townships); and the principal underwood is cedar, which is very pretty and graceful, and produces a delightful perfume.

A drive through these forests, especially in the evening, is very enjoyable in this weather, the temperature being delightful, and the air absolutely vocal with the hum and buzz of innumerable insects of every variety: for the last few days, too, we have not suffered from mosquitoes or any other mordacious species, as I should have expected. These forests, however, like those of Scandinavia, are totally destitute of singing-birds.

At Prescott we met the steamer carrying the mails from Montreal, a well-appointed and powerful boat, and took our passage in her to Kingston. The voyage up the St. Lawrence by the mail route is very disagreeable now, there are so many "portages" to avoid the rapids, and consequent changes of conveyance; the roads, too, are very bad, I hear, and the stages uncomfortable; so we congratulated ourselves on striking the river at a point above all these annoyances. The scenery between Brockville and Kingston, a distance of about fifty miles, is very curious and beautiful. This part of the St. Lawrence is called the "Lake of the thousand Islands;" among these islands the channel winds, being sometimes so narrow that you might throw a biscuit on shore at each side, and the branches of the trees almost overhang the deck, at other times widening almost into a lake: some of the islets are partially

cleared and settled, others covered with wood; some, again, mere rocks, fringed however with shrubbery and underwood, like those on the lower Lake of Killarney. There are a good many deer among them, and the people on board told me they took one the other day with a boat, as it was swimming from one island to another, as the steamer came up. When you arrive at Lake Ontario itself, the features of the landscape become tame and uninteresting enough, and I have rarely seen a place which appears more entirely devoid of objects of interest than Kingston and its neighbourhood. It is, however, advancing just now faster than any town in Canada, not only in consequence of having been fixed upon as the seat of government, but also as being the head of the navigation of the St. Lawrence and Rideau, and the dépôt of the "forwarding" business of the lakes. Between 200 and 300 houses have been built within two years, and it is still increasing every day.

LETTER VIII.

KINGSTON.

SPORTING EXPEDITION.—LOBRA LAKE.—FARM-HOUSE IN THE INTERIOR.—A U. E. LOYALIST.—FIRST DAY'S HUNTING.—MOSQUITOES.—HARD BED.—SECOND DAY'S HUNTING.—CHASE OF A DEER IN THE WATER.—RETURN TO KINGSTON.

August.

I MUST now give you an account of a rather unsuccessful expedition which D—— and I have been making into the woods in pursuit of deer. It is, in fact, much too early in the season for any thing of the kind; but as D——'s period of leave is limited, there is for him no choice, it being not easy to meet with deer within a reasonable distance of the settled districts along the lake, particularly in localities where they can be driven so as to get shots. As yet, however, the country north of Kingston has been but little settled or cleared, and there are a good many deer to be met with along the chain of small lakes which runs in that direction, and communicates, I believe, with the Upper Ottawa. We had heard, too, of a hospitable farmer, of the name of Knapp, who lives on Lobra lake, has hounds, is well

acquainted with the country and the sport, and to whom we had been recommended by our military friends at Kingston. We started, then, to look for his settlement, having packed our guns, bags, &c., in a hired waggon, with a small provision of tea, sugar, candles, and soap. The *best* part of the road was "corduroy" (that is, composed of unhewn trunks of trees laid side by side across the track); the rest of it was generally a mere cut through the forest, in the midst of which the stumps were still left standing, the surface being further diversified by holes, in which our equipage might almost have been buried bodily. We had only eighteen miles of it, however, and arrived after several narrow escapes of overturning, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, at Mr. Knapp's. Having made known our names and purposes to him, we were most hospitably received, and promised all the help which he could afford us in procuring sport. *Figurez-vous* a comfortable-looking wooden house, on the very shore of a beautiful lake, twenty miles long, but narrow, and studded with hundreds of small, rocky, pine-covered islets; said house occupied by a sturdy old woodsman of about sixty, his wife, three stout, good-natured sons, two daughters, and four hounds (of the English dwarf foxhound breed, I should think).

The old gentleman is son of a U. E. loyalist (as those Americans were called who adhered to the British cause during the revolutionary war, and emigrated from the United States after it was over), and preserves intact an hereditary antipathy to the Yankees; his house has often been visited by officers upon shooting parties, and he remembers all their names and doings wonderfully, so that between sporting topics and mutual acquaintances, we are at no loss for conversation. They soon got us some fish just caught for dinner, which, with brown bread and spring water, constituted a fare simple enough for a hermit's taste. We had a pull on the lake, and got a few shots at wild ducks, a bathe, a cup of tea, and so to bed. And now comes the dark side of the picture: — that night was indeed a night of horrors — I had not got into bed, but wrapped myself in my plaid and lay down on it; not, however, to sleep. I verily believe there is no species of creeping, crawling, or flying insect which had not its representative, on my person, nor was there one quarter of an hour's intermission of (saving your presence) itching and scratching. Most eagerly did I long for daylight, and as soon as it appeared, and before the sun rose, I rushed out of the house into the lake, where, damp and cold as was the atmosphere, I absolutely luxuriated in the idea of ridding myself

of my tormentors. D——, who had been *in* bed, was, if possible, worse off than myself; however, we soon forgot our misfortunes, and at half-past six o'clock on a most lovely morning we were off, vowing that that day a stag should die.

I will not bore you with the details of our "chasse;" suffice it to say that it was not very unsuccessful: one buck was killed, but neither of us had any hand in his death. We were placed in "runways," as they call them, in the woods, while the men hunted the cover with the hounds, and drove the deer towards us. D—— saw one, but was not quick enough to fire; one of Knapp's sons got a capital chance, but his gun missed fire at a doe within ten yards of him: another took the water, and was shot by a man who had remained in the boat for the purpose. The beauty of the scenery, however, the cry of the hounds, and the excitement of expectation, would have sufficed to make the day enjoyable to me, if it had not been for the usual drawback in this country to any excursion into the woods in summer, namely, the plague of mosquitoes. We saw plenty of wild-ducks, and water-fowl of many species which were new to me, but were afraid to fire for fear of frightening the deer; also several marks (some pretty recent) of bears which had been climbing the trees, and indenting the bark with

their claws; and the Knapps told us that they had often seen, and occasionally killed them. There are snipes too, black squirrels, and pigeons (the two latter important objects of an American chasse), and immense quantities of fish in the lake, principally black bass, which somewhat resemble large roach, and are caught of three or four pounds' weight; altogether it must be, *when there are no mosquitoes*, a most desirable sporting "location."

On the second night of our stay at Knapp's, I lay down on the table, and D—— on a bench in the kitchen, but in vain did we endeavour to escape from our relentless persecutors, and this manœuvre had only the effect of adding hard lying to our other discomforts. I thought daybreak would never arrive, and at the first sign of it jumped up, roused old Knapp, called for breakfast, and proceeded to bathe. D—— was too "abattu" by the night's misery to accompany me, and consequently missed the delicious feeling of refreshment which almost compensated for it all.

At about seven o'clock we got under weigh again, and began hunting. We had beaten an immense extent of forest without success, our old friend Knapp showing extraordinary vigour and "pluck," and only found two deer, at which we could not get a shot, though one of them must have passed close to us in the thick cover; when

late in the evening the hounds started a young doe, and opened upon her at full cry. She passed within thirty yards of me in a fine open part of the wood, and I was fortunate enough to bring her down. This proved a most welcome prize, though not a very large or valuable one, and cheered us greatly; indeed we required cheering, for we were almost exhausted by the extreme heat of the weather, and the intense torture inflicted by the mosquitoes, who have not left to either of us a sound spot on any part of our persons exposed to their attacks; they even bite *through* one's clothes. By the time we had performed the necessary offices of woodcraft upon our game, it was nearly dark, so we wended our way homewards. We found that the old lady, in compliment to our country, had prepared an Irish stew of the buck which we had killed the day before; and though it was pretty dry and stringy, we were well provided with the best of sauces by twelve hours' fasting, and did ample justice to it. We were so sleepy after two nights' wakefulness and two days' walking, that the third night, though equally bitten, we were enabled to get a little more rest; besides, like the eels, we were becoming used to it, and, I have no doubt, in a very short time would have thought as little of the creeping things as our worthy hosts seemed to do.

The next morning, off again as usual, and this day we had hardly any fatigue or mosquitoes, having been posted in boats, at some distance apart, to watch the deer, in case they should take the water when roused by the dogs,—a most tame and "cocktail" mode of sporting, which nothing but curiosity would have induced me to adopt. After waiting ineffectually for about three hours without hearing dogs or seeing deer, I determined to vary the scene by a swim, so I undressed and jumped out of the boat. I had not been a minute in the water when the boatman called out, "Quick, quick, the deer 's in the lake!" Imagine my dismay and excitement! My clothes were on an island at a little distance, for which I made, and catching up my trousers in one hand and my gun in the other, I jumped into the boat, seized a paddle, and pushed off in pursuit. The deer saw us and turned before we had got far, and we had a capital race; she swam very fast, and had a long start; however, we gained on her so much that I thought at one time we could have got within shot; but, alas! just as I was thinking of dropping my paddle and taking to my gun, she reached the shore. I fired two despairing shots at her as she scaled the rocks, but the range was too great, and we saw her no more. My chance of sport was now over, and I

was brought to my senses by finding myself, naked as I was, a prey to every sort of venomous insect, and with the prospect of a long pull back to the island where I had left my clothes, under a broiling sun, before I could get any covering. There was no help for it, however, and fortunately a little breeze sprung up, which served in some degree to disperse my enemies. After another hour's watch-keeping, my boatman decided that we had no further chance, as the deer and dogs seemed, after being repulsed upon the lake, to have made straight away into the hills; so we pulled to where D—— had been stationed (who had not even seen a deer), took him into the boat, and returned without trophy of any kind to the house.

We had bespoken a vehicle, a common timber-waggon, to meet us, and by eight or nine o'clock got back to Kingston, after a drive, which those who know what a Canadian waggon and a Canadian road are, will not be disposed to envy us. Thus ended our expedition, which though not productive of much result in the way of game, I thought well worth the trouble it cost us, as giving me a specimen of the life of a farmer in a half-settled district, and an idea, at least, of what deer-hunting ought to be. In October, when the deer are on the move, the chance of sport is

greater, as the hounds are more likely to strike upon their track, and the wild-fowl are far more numerous, being on their way to the south at that time; the weather is generally as fine, without the intolerable heat of this season; above all, there are no mosquitoes, whose attacks, I assure you, it requires no ordinary keenness to brave. The country in Knapp's neighbourhood is now in process of being settled very fast, in consequence of the improvement of Kingston, so that I suppose the deer will soon retreat as usual before the advance of civilisation, and leave the woods to man. As it is, there is much better shooting of all kinds to be had by following the chain of lakes farther to the northward; but it is necessary to be prepared for bivouacking, as house accommodation is not to be found.

Our host lives very well, *i. e.* plentifully, but in the most primitive manner. He is not much of a farmer, and produces no more than is necessary for the consumption of his family; his live stock consists of six cows, two horses, and a good number of pigs and poultry; the visits of sportsmen like ourselves, and occasional speculations in lumber, give him what money he requires for clothes, &c., and he has venison and fish for the taking. What more does he want, as far as worldly goods are concerned? The whole family

were most kind and attentive in their treatment of us, and nothing could be more moderate than the remuneration which we had been told it was usual to offer, and with which they appeared perfectly satisfied.

LETTER IX.

NIAGARA FALLS.

VOYAGE ON LAKE ONTARIO. — THE FALLS. — INDIAN MANUFACTURES. — SCENERY ON THE NIAGARA RIVER. — GOING BEHIND THE FALLS. — BUFFALO. — AN "ABLE FINANCIER." — GERMAN EMIGRANTS. — LAND-SALES IN THE UNITED STATES. — LAKE STEAMERS. — THE LEGITIMATE DRAMA AT BUFFALO. — NAVY ISLAND. — HOSTILITIES WITH THE SYMPATHISERS. — INDIAN AND NEGRO RACES COMPARED. — NAVIGATION ON THE WELLAND CANAL. — IRISH AT THE PUBLIC WORKS.

Niagara, September.

WHERE did I leave off? I am so much bewildered just now by the sight and sound of the cataract, that I almost forget what I have been doing for the last two days. Not that, to speak the truth, the sound is near so great as I expected; I do not think we heard it till we were within half a mile; and at this moment, though every pane of glass in the house is rattling, and every article of furniture is shaking, still the noise of the falls, which are only distant about three hundred yards, is by no means aggressive or overpowering; on the contrary, it is a kind of deep, massive boom, like distant thunder, so you may

consider the beginning of this letter as chiefly exaggeration.

We came up Lake Ontario by steam from Kingston, and landed on the American side of the Niagara river at Lewiston. Thence an hour of railroad work brought us to the village called Manchester, close to the Falls, but not commanding a view of them. After dinner (what do you think of our dining *first?*) we crossed the bridge leading into Goat Island, and in five minutes stood on the rock overlooking the British or Horse-shoe Fall. Now I am not going to do any thing so foolish as to attempt a description of the Falls, nor would you be much wiser if I did. I will only say that if I was disappointed at *the first glance,* it was my own fault, for instead of getting the first view from the Table Rock on the British side,—where you stand opposite to, and at a sufficient distance from the Great Fall,—we were misled into taking up a position quite close to one corner of it, and absolutely overlooking the abyss, so that the cloud of spray and foam which is continually rising, hid the true shape and extent of the cataract from us. When I did afterwards come to *see* it thoroughly, I could not imagine anybody being disappointed, at least I cannot conceive what such a person could have expected to see: but after all, what is the impression which

Niagara makes on us, who have all our lives been reading accounts, and seeing pictures and models of it, compared to that which it must have made on the first civilised, or at least white man, probably some hunter or trader, who suddenly, and unprepared perhaps, came upon it in the solitude of the forest, and feasted his eyes upon its wonders? I should think astonishment and awe must almost have deprived him of his senses. Imagine his attempts to describe it afterwards to those who had never heard of any thing of the sort,—for the peculiarity of Niagara is, that there is "nihil simile aut secundum," nothing near it, or like it in the world! My mind has been continually reverting to this idea.

There is certainly no object in nature which so forcibly impresses me as a cataract; there is something apparently so resistless, so inexhaustible in the power of a great body of water, when it has acquired momentum from descent; and the impression of power is certainly the true source of the sublime. Accordingly, it is the *body* of water in a fall, not the height, which is important in producing effect. At Niagara the river only falls one hundred and forty feet, but then it is a quarter of a mile broad, and deep enough to float a frigate, above and below. The colour, as it rolls over, and before it changes into snow-white

foam, is a beautiful pale sea-green, and above that again there is a constantly varying play of literally every colour in the rainbow, as the breeze blows the spray in different directions, so as to intercept the rays of the sun. One great defect in all the pictures of the Falls consists in giving to the lesser or American Fall a disproportionate importance; indeed it must be very difficult to avoid doing so, for it is as high and almost as broad, so that at first sight it quite "takes you in;" but as probably not one fourth of the river takes that course, and as I said before the true effect of a fall consists in the volume of water, by degrees, after being accustomed to the contemplation of its rival, one comes to regard it with equally unjust contempt, and to consider it as little better than an overgrown mill-dam, though any where else it would of course be thought most beautiful, and justly so.

The morning after our arrival we crossed the ferry, which is not more than 200 yards below the Falls, and are now established on the British side in a large hotel, which commands a fine view of them. In the village of Manchester I saw by far the most beautiful Indian work, in beads, porcupine quills, and bark, that I have met with in America. It is done by the squaws of the Seneca tribe, who have a large settlement near

Buffalo, and who from finding, I suppose, so good a market among the visitors here, take more than usual pains about their work. It seems this is the only approach to a regular trade which they can be induced to adopt; the men are entirely given up to hunting and fishing, just as before the country was settled by Europeans; and though I am told they are very profligate and demoralised, they come nearer in appearance and habits to the idea which I had formed of the red man, than I expected to find in a country so full of whites. They paddle up the rivers in their bark canoes, under which they sleep at night, and hunt where they please, no one hindering them; the laws which regulate the season at which game may be killed, are (in tacit recognition of their prior rights) not enforced against them. Drunkenness is their besetting sin, but, of late, many of those who live among the whites have become members of Temperance societies.

There is a pretty little village called Drummondville, with civilised park-like scenery about it, on the British side of the river, which has here on the whole the advantage of the American in appearance. We went to church this morning, and found a very small congregation. I suppose the heat kept them away, for the weather is intensely hot (the thermometer is now at 72° in the open air,

and the sun has long set). As one of the soldiers said to me the other day, "What a dreadful place Canada must have been before the invention of linen shooting-jackets."

There is a fine regiment of Canadian Rifles (as they are called) quartered here; it is composed of volunteers from the Line, who must have served more than thirteen years, and who consequently, as looking forward to their pensions, and having also extra pay and allowances, are not likely to desert. They are always stationed on the frontier, where the line regiments lose half their numbers. A short time ago four men (of the 93d, I think), in attempting to swim to the American side, were carried over the Falls, and their bodies, being caught in the whirlpool below, remained for a long time in sight on the surface — in fact, till decomposition took place. The scenery both above and below the Falls would be considered beautiful, and well worth visiting of itself, if it were not for the absorbing interest which they command. There are mills on the American side; but Goat Island, which is just above the Falls, and divides them into two unequal parts, has, I hope owing to the good taste of the proprietor, been left in its natural state. I should have expected villas and water privileges, and all kinds of horrors. The shores

all about the Falls are historic ground, having been the scenes of actions innumerable in all our wars with the Americans, down to the late campaigns against the sympathisers, and the affairs of Navy Island and the Caroline.

We have been foolish enough to go behind the Falls, which is a most disagreeable operation, involving a complete change of dress, a thorough wetting, and a probable cold; and which does not "pay" in the least. You blunder along a narrow pathway, with your head down, in the midst of a tremendous shower of spray, till you get to "Termination Rock;" short of which your inexorable guide will not let you turn. It is all very well to talk of the magnificent sensation produced by reflecting on the huge curtain of waters which is hung between you and the world. I can only say that they must have a very lively imagination indeed who can enjoy "strong sensations" while under a blinding shower of cold water; and as there is, unfortunately, not the slightest danger (except of rheumatism), we had not even the consolation of flattering ourselves that we were heroes. As a climax of absurdity, the guide offered us, on our return, *tickets!* forsooth, which we might keep to back our assertion, that we had reached Termination Rock. In spite of warnings, however, people will continue to "do" this "lion,"

that they may be able to say they have done it, —the main motive which sets most people upon travelling and sight-seeing.

In the afternoon we crossed the river again, and went by railroad to Buffalo, on Lake Erie, about twenty miles from the Falls. The town is well worth seeing; and its history is curious and characteristic. It is not above twenty years old, yet it contains (I believe) 18,000 inhabitants, and covers a vast extent of ground. It was created by the Erie canal, which connects the ocean with Lake Erie (through the Hudson); and consequently this port is the depôt for all the commerce of the north-west. Great part of the town, including the best public buildings, was erected by a Mr. Rathbun, whom you may call an able financier, or an enormous rogue, according to your notions of talent and morality. He started *without any capital at all*, bought lands, built streets, and had sometimes a thousand workmen in his employment. The funds were supplied by a most daring and gigantic system of forgery: he forged acceptances in the names of all the merchants of the best credit in the country, taking care to have fresh bills ready to take up those which became due, and speculating upon the transactions remaining unknown to the parties concerned till his operations should be finished, and his rents enable

him to clear himself. By mere chance, after this had gone on for some years, one of the merchants, whose name he had forged, heard from his banker that a bill of his (the merchant's) had just been discounted: inquiry was immediately set on foot, Rathbun was arrested, and the bubble burst. He is now in the state prison; but may say to the stranger in Buffalo, "Si monumentum quæris, circumspice."

One third of the population of the town is composed of Germans. I went out, as is my custom of a morning, into the market-place, to see and talk to the people coming in with produce from the country, and I met several who have emigrated this year. The greater number, especially those of the poorer class, are from Bavaria: these occupy at Buffalo the position which the Irish do at New York. Those who come from Hanover and Hesse have generally capital, and go on to the west for the purpose of buying land. I met one who had just come from Wisconsin, on Lake Michigan, where there is a large settlement of his countrymen. Government land can be had there of the best quality for one and a quarter dollar per acre, but he told me that the best "locations" had been bought up by speculating individuals on the spot; so that a foreigner has to pay an

advanced price for them.* The practical working of the United States system of land-sales, however, though of course liable to abuse, has been on the whole judicious and profitable; but it is singular, that its efficiency has been the result less of positive law than of the custom and feeling which prevails among the settlers. The usual plan is, after selecting a "location," to "squat" in the first instance, that is, settle, clear, and improve, and at the next land-sale to attend and bid the upset price (one and a quarter dollar inva-

* I feel convinced that no farmer, fresh from the old country (and still less a gentleman), should buy "*wild land*" if he can avoid it. Such men are generally bad pioneers, know little of the use of an axe, and nothing of the shifts and privations which a new settler is exposed to in the woods: they should try to buy farms ready cleared in comparatively civilised districts, which are generally just in the condition to be made profitable by the application of the science and capital of a Lothian or Northumberland farmer; while the old settler, or perhaps his sons, shoulder their axes and go deeper into the woods, to buy larger tracts of wild land, and pursue the occupation (which habit has made familiar to *them*) of backwoods-men and pioneers. A man may buy land close to the great markets and water-communications, which is what the old settlers in their ignorance call *exhausted* (*i. e.* in want of manure and tillage), for very little more than wild land in similar situations (from two to five dollars per acre); and there he may really find himself in command of most of the conveniences of life at once: whereas I am sure no man who has not been in the woods can have an idea of the miseries attendant upon a first settlement.

riably). Now, I believe, there is nothing (in point of law) to prevent anybody else from bidding against the squatter, and becoming owner of his property; but, *in fact*, a prescriptive right of pre-emption has been established in his favour, in consequence of the difficulty which would arise in valuing his improvements, and, above all, the invidiousness (not to say impossibility in most cases) of getting him out.

Thus the two great objects which every system of land-sales should aim at have been in a great measure attained: namely, that of encouraging settlers, and that of discouraging extensive speculation on the part of land-jobbers, who do not mean to occupy the land they buy: the former is effected by the lowness of the price; the latter by the virtual right of pre-emption possessed by actual occupants. A large direct revenue, too, has flowed from this source, averaging nearly two millions and a half of dollars per annum. The more remote north-western states, Iowa and Wisconsin, are now filling fast, and offer, in one respect at least, great inducement to European emigrants; namely, that fever and ague are comparatively unknown there. Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio, on the contrary, unsurpassed in advantages of soil and situation, are found so unhealthy, that (as I have heard from many who have lived there) it

is almost impossible to meet with a family which is not more or less affected. This dreadful evil, however, becomes mitigated as settlement and cultivation advance; at present, I should think its existence a decisive reason for avoiding those states: they are, however, colonized to a great extent by English farmers, particularly the neighbourhood of Chicago in Illinois, — tempted by the productiveness of the land, and the facility of cultivating it. It is commonly said that those who are born in these alluvial countries believe, judging from their own particular induction, that all mankind "shake" periodically. In all of these the plenty of produce is such, that, in the present state of the internal communications, it is not worth bringing to market, and may be had for the asking. I have been informed by good authority that, in many parts of Ohio, pork, fed at large in the woods, costs now but a cent ($\frac{1}{2}d.$) per lb., and wheat twenty-five cents (1*s.*) per bushel.

There are steamers almost every day running between Buffalo, Detroit, and Chicago: I went on board one, and found her a magnificent vessel, of 780 tons, and 300-horse power, *i. e.* about the size of the Dublin and Liverpool mail-boats, with three tiers of cabins above water, so that one is sure at least of plenty of air; but I should think she must be top-heavy, and not calculated to stand

much sea: there is sometimes very heavy weather on these great lakes too.*

We went to the play on the evening of the day we spent at Buffalo (the "legitimate drama" at Buffalo!—what think you of that?), and found a good house, but a scanty and disreputable-looking audience. The performance was a curious medley; viz., one act of "King Lear," two of "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," with a farce and a melo-drame, and two comic songs between the acts of the tragedy and tragi-comedy. The same actor, like a second Garrick, played the principal part in all. We had not patience to sit it out, though he was really not so bad as we had expected,—a ranter of the first water, of course, but with a good melo-dramatic figure and voice: I suspect he was a travelling "star." At the inn our old friends the Rainer family, or at least a party calling themselves by that name, had a concert the same evening, which perhaps may account for the absence of the "beauty and fashion" from the theatre. But only imagine such proceedings at such a place! The hotel is the best I have seen since I left Boston.

From Buffalo we returned by steam-boat down

* Before I left America there were terrific gales on Lake Erie, and a great number of vessels lost between Cleveland (Ohio) and Buffalo.

the Niagara river to Chippewa, getting a fine view of Lake Erie as we came out of the harbour, with several steamers and schooners in sight. We passed the classic ground of Schlosser, where the Caroline was cut out, and Captain Usher's house, where he was shot at his own door by Lett the sympathiser. This man was afterwards arrested in the States for trying to blow up a British steamer, and escaped by jumping out of a railroad car while at full speed. He was at large for two years, but was retaken last summer, and is now in Auburn penitentiary. I had no idea till I came to this country of the extent to which the operations of the sympathisers were carried at the time of the troubles in Canada; from all parts of the Union adventurers flocked to the border (literally in thousands), fully persuaded that the scenes of Texas were to be acted over again, and that the British dominion in America was at an end. Nothing could exceed their surprise and disappointment at finding the mass of the Upper Canadian population attached, as they undoubtedly are, to British, and, above all things, indisposed to American connexion. After this must have been perfectly ascertained, and all hopes consequently given up of obtaining permanent footing in Canada, these vagabonds persevered for a long time in predatory expeditions,

taking advantage of the scarcity of troops in the Upper Province, and of the facilities of escape afforded by the river. The account I hear of the transactions which took place in 1838 and 1839 along the frontier, reminds me of the raids and forays of Elliotts and Armstrongs on the debateable land of the Scottish border; with this important difference, however, that neither Scotch nor English had the least scruple in retaliating and exacting, when they had the power, ample interest for the losses which they had suffered: whereas, here, the British for a long time confined themselves entirely to the defensive; nor did I hear of more than one or two instances where they followed their enemies over the border, still less did they ever take the initiative, and commit *unprovoked* aggression.

On the whole, I look upon these border troubles as having been useful, in preventing, far more effectually than any political reasoning or even abstract feelings of patriotism could do, all undue "sympathy" between the Canadians and the Americans*, a sympathy which might otherwise

* It is, as has been often remarked, very inconvenient that no term but "Americans" exists, by which one can characterise the citizens of the United States, as distinguished from Canadians, Mexicans, &c. I read the other day a proposal for altering the name of the *continent* to Columbia, and leaving them in undisturbed possession of

have become dangerous to British connexion. Reflecting men, too, might read a lesson useful to themselves in so close an observation as was then forced upon them of the weakness under which the American executive government labours, and of the loose and disorganised frame of society, of which the "sympathetic" movement was a symptom. The attack upon the Caroline was, without doubt, strictly speaking, a violation of the letter of national law, but one which, equally without doubt, the necessity of the case justified; so that Lord Ashburton was perhaps right in apologising for the invasion of the American territory upon that ground. The crews of the boats that took the Caroline were principally composed of volunteers from the higher class of settlers; and the service was one of no small danger. The stream is very rapid, and the proximity of the Falls is such that an accident would certainly be fatal; even the loss of one or two of the oars, or a mistake of the steersman, might probably involve losing command of the boat,

"America." This would certainly be easier and more convenient than it would be to give a new name to the republic, and besides would be an act of tardy justice to the great discoverer. As it is, one finds it difficult to avoid using the word Yankees, (which, by-the-bye, is the Indian corruption of English, Yengeese,) though it is both offensive and incorrect as applied to any but New Englanders.

and consequent destruction; yet they had to pull round Navy Island, and under command of its guns, and then to return after cutting out and setting fire to the steamer, when of course the attention of both parties was called to their proceedings.

It is humiliating to think that a band of ruffians, never exceeding a thousand in number, should have been allowed to hold an island within musket-shot of the mainland for a whole month; firing away continually, interrupting the communications, and keeping the whole frontier in hot water: a nearer acquaintance, however, with circumstances and localities diminishes one's surprise, and serves to excuse, at least partially, the inactivity of the British. The island is, as I said before, peculiarly difficult of access, if tolerably defended, from its situation: the number of its defenders, and their resources, were unknown, and of course greatly exaggerated; there were also no regular troops in the province; and Sir Francis Head was naturally reluctant to peril the lives of his gallant volunteers, whose loss would have been so severely felt throughout the province, in an enterprise of which the solid advantages would hardly have compensated for the risk. They at last dispersed, upon being threatened by the American commandant with the stoppage of their

supplies. The island is about a mile long, and covered with wood; there was a little cultivation on it, and one settlement, but the farmer was obliged to "clear out" in 1839, and never returned.

From Chippewa we returned by railroad (on cars drawn by horses) to our old quarters at the Clifton Hotel, close to the Falls. D—— has just left me on his way back to Montreal, by the St. Lawrence; my route lies westward into the London district.

I have been induced to remain longer than I originally intended at the Falls, having been fortunate enough to meet with some most agreeable and valuable acquaintances there; one in particular, from whose knowledge of the country, and kindness in imparting that knowledge, I have derived more information upon the topics which chiefly interest me than I could have obtained during months of ordinary touring. This is a favourite place of summer resort for the inhabitants of Toronto and the Upper Province generally: people come and stay for a month or six weeks at this hotel; others have villas on the banks of the river, between the Falls and the town of Niagara: there is consequently a good deal of Canadian society, besides the variety of perpetual tourists; so that, independently of the

interest attached to the Falls, a week or two may be spent here by a traveller pleasantly as well as profitably.

One of our party has just returned from the Sault St. Marie, at the entrance to Lake Superior, whither he had accompanied the superintendent of Indians on his annual expedition to the Manitoulin islands, with presents from the government to the natives. I was very sorry to have been too late to join it, which I could easily have done. Lord Morpeth and the Bishop of Toronto were of the party this year; they went up Lake Huron in canoes, paddled by Indians, and encamped at night on the shores or islands. The British government has been trying to prevail upon the north-western tribes to settle down and become steady artisans and husbandmen, and has really behaved very liberally to them, establishing seminaries for their instruction, building houses and supplying tools: but all is in vain; there is a curse upon the race, and by all accounts the attempt to reclaim or civilise them is utterly hopeless; so that they must recede and gradually disappear, like the wild beasts they hunt, as the white man advances. Even those who remain among our settlements (until by continual crossing of the breed they almost lose their distinctive nationality) lead the same life of hunters

and fishermen as before the white man came into their country.

The Indian and the Negro races, both fated as it seems to yield the supremacy to the *whites*, present in every other particular a curious contrast to each other. The red man appears to have received from Nature every quality which contributes to greatness except—I have no other word for it—*tameability;* he has shown in many remarkable instances intellectual capacity, talents for government, eloquence, energy, and self-command. Tecumseh, who fell at the battle of the Thames, was a second Arminius; and among the annals of Indian warfare are to be found the names of chiefs, who, under more favourable circumstances, might have attained the summit of military and political fame: but they had to do with subjects and followers who were all but strangers to the elementary principles of society, to mutual co-operation, subordination, industry, and division of labour; so that the extraordinary insulated efforts of individuals sank before the organised and persevering hostility of their enemies. Still there is something noble and striking, something that commands respect and admiration, in the Indian character, irreconcileable though it be with advanced civilisation and the operation of Christian influences.

The Negro, on the contrary, has precisely what the Indian wants; he is *a domestic animal;* and it requires a sacrifice of what appears natural feeling to religion and philosophy to persuade one's self that, as he is an immortal being, equal in the sight of God to those whose yoke he seems fated to bear on earth, so he should be considered equal in the sight of man. The Indian avoids his conqueror; the Negro bows at his feet. The Indian loves the independence and privations of his solitude better than all the flesh-pots of Egypt; the Negro, if left to himself, is helpless and miserable; he must have society and sensual pleasures; if he be allowed to eat and drink well, to dance, to sing, and to make love, he seems to have no further or higher aspirations, and to care nothing for the degradation of his race. With the single exception of Toussaint, I know no instance of a negro distinguishing himself in politics, or arms, or letters; and though I make every allowance for the difficulties and obstacles to his doing so which his situation imposes upon him, I cannot allow that these account for the fact that, notwithstanding the excellent education which many negroes receive, and the stimulus afforded by constant intercourse with whites, not one of them has yet, either here or in the West Indies, with the above-named exception, taken the lead

among his countrymen, or made a name for himself. And this natural superiority of the Indian is, perhaps unconsciously, recognised, and illustrated in a singular manner, by the white man, in the different feelings which he exhibits upon the subject of amalgamation with the two races. Some of the best families in the United States are *proud* to trace their origin to Indian chiefs (*e. g.* the Randolphs of Virginia boast that they come of the lineage of Powhattan); and I have myself met with half-breeds, who were considered (and most justly) in every respect equal in estimation with full-blooded whites. It is needless to observe, that with respect to the negroes the precise converse is the case. *Cæteris paribus*, we seem naturally to receive the red man as our equal. Can it be altogether the effect of educational prejudice that we find it impossible to do so with the black? I feel a difficulty in coming to such a conclusion.

One day I drove with a party of friends to the town of Niagara, fourteen miles from the Falls, through a very pretty country, stretching along the bank of the river: this is the oldest and most civilised part of Upper Canada, having been first settled by old soldiers after the American war. The whole road is lined with farms and villas worthy of some of the remoter parts of England; and the district would be a most desirable "loca-

tion" were it not for the dangerous proximity of the American border, and the consequent risk of suffering annoyance and injury in times of either war or "sympathy."

At Niagara there are considerable ship-building docks, and a steam-engine manufactory, and the town appears prosperous and advancing. Near it is the mouth of the Welland canal, which forms the communication between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario: schooners of 160 tons register, and drawing $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet water, can now navigate it; and the government is employed in enlarging the locks, so as to admit those of 200 tons. The great object of the Canadians and British is to divert as much as possible the great and increasing commerce of the Upper Lakes into the channel of the St. Lawrence; that of the Americans to keep it in the Erie canal and the Hudson. When the ship-canal now in progress round the St. Lawrence rapids is completed, and the Welland enlarged, it is hoped that sea-going vessels may be enabled to navigate this line of communication the whole way from Lake Michigan to the Atlantic, and thus, by saving all expense of trans-shipment, monopolise the trade. There are now generally two trans-shipments, one at Kingston and the other at Montreal or Quebec; and the former at least will ultimately be saved. As

it is, the tolls of the Welland canal have considerably increased during this and last year, while those of the Erie canal have diminished; and the Americans are in some alarm at the prospect of losing so important a trade: but the difficult navigation of the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and the length of time during which it is closed, are in their favour. Hitherto all the navigation on the Welland canal has been performed by horse-power; but they are now trying to introduce the system of fitting up the lake schooners with small high-pressure steam-engines, which only take up 10 feet of the vessel's length, do not interfere with her sailing capabilities, and ensure four miles an hour in average weather, at the expense of three or four dollars per day in firewood. There are three of these running now, and I believe they answer very well; they are not worked with paddles, but with the screw or propeller, which projects from behind, like a tail, and acts upon the water in some measure as the wheel of a windmill (which it resembles in conformation) does upon the air. This takes up, of course, less room than paddles do, and also does not, like them, wash away or injure the banks of the canals. The chimney is very small, and at a little distance you would not observe any peculiarity about the schooner. Great opposition is made to these,

professedly on the ground of the danger from their high-pressure engines: I cannot but think, however, that they will succeed.

A good deal of fighting has been going on among the Irish labourers, of whom 600 or 700 are employed on the Welland canal; two lives were lost, and many are now in prison, charged with having been engaged in the disturbance, the cause of which was merely anxiety to monopolise the work on the part of the first comers. It is to these government works that all the Irish emigrants of the labouring class crowd upon landing, so that there always appears to be a superabundant supply of labour near them, while, perhaps, fifty miles farther up the country far better wages may be obtained, and there may be an ample demand for hands. The Irish Roman Catholics behaved very well in the late troubles in Upper as well as Lower Canada: this is attributable in a great measure to the influence of their bishop, who is a very worthy man, and a steady friend to British connexion.

LETTER X.

WOODSTOCK.

A LABOURER'S ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST FOUR YEARS IN CANADA. — PROSPECTS AFFORDED TO A GENTLEMAN-FARMER. — HAMILTON. — TRAVELLER FROM THE FAR-WEST. — COUNTRY BETWEEN HAMILTON AND WOODSTOCK. — BRANTFORD. — INDIAN VILLAGE. — DIVINE SERVICE IN THE MOHAWK LANGUAGE. — PROGRESS OF CIVILISATION AMONG THE RED MEN. — OAK-PLAINS. — VISIT TO A GENTLEMAN-FARMER SETTLED IN WESTERN CANADA. — MANNER OF LIFE. — ADVICE TO EMIGRANTS. — RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE POPULATION. — WOODSTOCK CRICKET-CLUB.

Woodstock, near London, September.

FROM Queenstown, on the Niagara river, I went by steam-boat to Hamilton, the westernmost port of Lake Ontario; the distance is fifty miles, and the time occupied five hours. On board I met with an Irishman from Derry, employed as a common sailor; the result of whose experience I will give you, as a fair specimen of his class of emigrants. He came out five years ago, a single man, with nothing but his passage-money, his health, and his hands. He got immediate employment at Montreal, and afterwards came on to the Upper Province, where wages were higher: he has received on an average, (working generally in sum-

mer on a farm or on board a lake-steamer, where no skill is required, and lumbering in winter,) twelve dollars per month besides his keep, which he values at six or eight dollars more (the ordinary price at one of their boarding-houses), and has never been idle for a single day. This year he has invested his savings, which amount to 400 dollars, in 100 acres of wild land, lying close to the lake and about ten miles from Hamilton; and intends after this fall to build a shanty on his farm and commence chopping. He says he can clear (alone) about an acre per week; so that by spring he will have about twelve or fifteen acres ready for cropping: after the first year all will be plain sailing, and he *must* get on if he continues healthy and industrious.

I found Hamilton in great confusion, being filled with people from all parts of the country, who are come to welcome, with a kind of procession, Sir Allan McNab on his return from England. He lives near the town, and seems to be amazingly popular here. At Hamilton I had the pleasure of meeting with a travelling companion, whose acquaintance I had made at the Falls, and who, like myself, was on his way to Woodstock. He has just come out from England, and his object is to look about him in different parts of the country previous to buying a farm and settling;

and as he has obtained a good deal of information on the subject, and consulted the best authorities in different parts of the country, I think it may not be uninteresting to give you the result of his calculations as to the prospects of a gentleman-emigrant. Let us suppose him to possess a capital of 1,500*l.* Of this he may invest 300*l.* in land, for which he will get a farm pretty well cleared, and in the best situation, of 150 acres, with a log cabin, where he can live for a year or two, ready built, and 200*l.* more in stocking it; their remains 1000*l.*, which, at 8 per cent., will be worth 80*l.* a year. Out of the produce of his farm he ought, according to the calculation, to pay three servants or labourers (two men and a woman), who will cost in wages about 75*l.* per annum, keep himself and them in provisions, and pay ordinary farm expenses, such as seed, &c.; leaving his whole remaining income to spend upon clothes, sundries, and improvements: if he finds himself getting on well, he may by degrees invest more of his principal in land; but 100 or 150 acres are undoubtedly quite enough to begin with. To reduce the calculation to its lowest term, he may expect for the present to get board and lodging for the interest of the 500*l.* which he has expended, and his own labour; but then every year his land is rising in value, not only in consequence of his own exer-

tions but from the operation of external causes, as the country advances, and railroads, canals, &c. are opened. Such are my friend's conclusions: I am not qualified to judge of their reasonableness; but I cannot help thinking that a gentleman, that is, a man inexperienced in practical farming, and unable or unwilling to work with his own hands, can hardly hope to pay and keep his labourers and himself out of the produce of his farm, at least at the present rate of prices.

We met at Hamilton with a trāveller from the coast of the Pacific; he was the son of a trader on the Columbia river, had been born and bred beyond the Rocky Mountains, and had crossed the prairies with a caravan in the spring, with the view of seeing something of the Oriental scenery and manners, and advanced civilisation of Canada. I should have been glad of an opportunity of extracting some information from him about the Oregon territory (as the country about the Columbia is called), and that part of the continent generally: the Americans and English are quarrelling about it already, and with some reason, for it is likely to be very valuable at some future time, both in a commercial and an agricultural point of view. The fur-trade is now altogether in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have this year extended their operations by purchasing

from the Russian Fur Company the exclusive trade of their territory in America for, I believe, twenty years. The Americans are very jealous of this monopoly, as they have till lately enjoyed a considerable share of the trade; and as they are pouring settlers over the mountains much faster than we are, there will probably be some fighting in those parts ere long, under the pretence of respectively asserting rights to the disputed territory. The country is fertile, intersected by rivers, and enjoys a temperate and moist climate, produced, as in our own case in England and Ireland, by the prevalence of westerly winds, which have swept over a vast extent of ocean; just as, on the other hand, the climates of Pekin and Quebec (which are situated in about the same latitude, at the *eastern* extremities of their respective continents) resemble each other in their extremes of heat and cold. At Hamilton we hired a spring waggon, and drove twenty-five miles to Brantford, a thriving village, which it is contemplated to make a port of, by opening the navigation of the Grand River, on which it stands, to Lake Erie. The works are now in progress, and will soon be completed; and thus a fine grain country will be thrown open to the British market. Within two miles of Brantford (which is called after Brandt the Indian chief) is a village which may be termed the head-quarters of

the Mohawk tribe of Indians. They lost their possessions in the States by adhering to Great Britain in the revolutionary war, and received in compensation a settlement here of 160,000 acres: since that time they have decreased considerably, and now consist of not more than 2200 souls. I went over to the Indian village on Sunday morning, and attended Divine service in their church; it was performed according to the forms of the English church, but in the Mohawk language, with the exception of the sermon, which the clergyman delivered in English, and which was translated with wonderful fluency, sentence after sentence, by an Indian interpreter who stood beside him. It was good, practical, and well adapted to the audience, who listened with the most unfailing attention, though the plan of proceeding made it necessarily very long: the Indian language, too, is far more prolix than ours, at least the sentences, as translated, were at least three times as long as in the original delivery: the singing was particularly good in point of time and harmony, but the airs were somewhat monotonous. Two children were baptised during the service, one of them ensconced in a bark cradle, which fitted it accurately, and was attached in a curious manner to a board so as to be carried easily upon the mother's back. There were about 120 Indians

present; the men, with one or two exceptions, dressed like Europeans, but the women wearing their native costume, which is rather becoming: it consists of a calico or linen tunic, reaching to the knee, below which appears a petticoat of blue cloth, generally embroidered with red and white bead-work; the legs are covered with a kind of buskin of blue cloth, and the feet with moccasins; over all is a large robe or mantle, of blue cloth also, thrown loosely round the shoulders; completing a dress which, at this time of year, must be dreadfully hot and heavy: the head is without any other covering except very thick black shining hair. Those of the men who have not adopted the European costume wear instead of trowsers a tunic, and leggings which reach half-way up the thigh.

I had some conversation with the clergyman after service: he is employed by the "New England Society," has been for a long time among the Indians, and knows them well: he has a better opinion of them, and of their capacity for acquiring domestic and industrious habits, than most white men to whom I have spoken upon the subject have expressed. The society support a school in the village, where about forty children are boarded, educated, and instructed in trades; and they learn, Mr. N. says, as fast as Europeans:

as yet, however, they are not fit to be trusted in making bargains with the whites, nor can they at all compete in matters of business with them: much of their original grant has been trafficked away to settlers, at prices wholly inadequate; and though such transactions are altogether illegal, they have been overlooked so long that it is now impossible to annul them. A superintendent lives close to the village, who is paid by Government for the express purpose of protecting the Indian interests and managing their affairs; yet encroachments upon their rights are still perpetually made, which, however advantageous they may appear to a political economist, are neither reconcileable with equity, nor with the real wishes and intentions of Government. Mr. N. is by no means without hopes that in a generation or two these Indians may become quite civilised: they are giving up their wandering habits, and settling rapidly upon farms throughout their territory; and in consequence, probably, of this change in their mode of life the decrease in their numbers, which threatened a complete extinction of the tribe, has ceased of late years: if it turn out as he expects, this will form the sole exception to the general law which affects their people. They are very much attached (as well they may be) to the British government; and, in 1837, turned out under their

chiefs, to the number of 500, and offered their services to it: they wished to attack Navy Island in their canoes, but those who were in command thought the enterprise too hazardous. The chiefs (whose office is, as among the ancient Gothic nations, partly hereditary and partly elective, *i. e.* ordinarily transmitted from father to son, but liable to be transferred in cases of incapacity) have still a good deal of authority among them, but, as it is of course not recognised by law, they are gradually losing it; in fact the race is assimilating itself here far more than anywhere else to the habits and manners of the surrounding Europeans, while at the same time there is perhaps hardly any settlement where the red blood is preserved with less mixture, owing, of course, to their superior morality. Mr. N. tells me there are about eighty communicants, and that as many of them appear to be sincerely under the influence of religion as could be expected out of a similar number of whites. He is strict in his discipline, excluding from the Lord's table all who have been guilty of intemperance, or any other open sin, till they have confessed their guilt, and showed satisfactory signs of amendment.

In the evening we returned to Brantford, where we found a good deal of alarm prevailing, and the magistrates swearing in special constables, in con-

sequence of a riot which has taken place among the Irish labourers upon the Grand River canal, about three miles from hence. Wherever these countrymen of mine are, they must and will fight.

At Brantford we hired another waggon, and drove thirty miles over a bad road to Woodstock, from whence I am writing. The country through which we passed is well cleared and civilised, with some comfortable houses and good farms; the road passes through one flourishing village called Paris. The most remarkable feature in this district is what are called the oak-plains; these extend for about ten miles along the road, and are the most desirable lands in the country: the oaks are small, and grow so far apart that it only costs about half as much to clear them off as in the case of ordinary forest; so that wild land of this nature fetches a very high price, viz. from fifteen to twenty dollars. Sometimes the trees are only "girdled," which consists in cutting the bark all round the trunk while the sap is running (about June); the tree dies in a couple of months after the operation, and the crop can be put in at once as soon as the "under-brush" is removed, without the trouble of cutting and carrying away or destroying the timber: this plan cannot be adopted when the trees grow close together. The soil in this part of the province, particularly when

first cleared, is extraordinarily fertile; I have been told that it often yields wheat-crops for fifteen or twenty years *in succession*, producing from twenty to twenty-five bushels per acre, before the "virtue" is extracted from the vegetable mould which covers it; after that time, of course, the productiveness is immensely reduced; and this is an element worthy to be considered in a calculation of the permanent supply of grain which Canada is likely to furnish: the virgin soil, with its attendant cheapness and abundance, is rapidly becoming exhausted, so that against improved communications is to be set increased difficulty of production. The oak-plains are very pretty, being full of glades and dells and vistas, which remind one of English forest-scenery, only that the trees which grow upon them are not fine. There has been a most disagreeable change in the weather: on Saturday we had very heavy rain, the first (of any consequence) which I have seen for six weeks, and last night there was a frost; so I suppose the summer, properly speaking, is gone: the sun, however, is hot again to-day.

I am domiciled in the house of a gentleman to whom I brought letters of introduction, and who, with the usual hospitality of the country, has made me feel completely at home; so that I have an opportunity of seeing a most favourable speci-

men — too favourable, in fact, to be a fair one — of a Canadian settler's establishment. His farm consists now (having been added to from time to time) of about 400 acres, of which 130 are cleared. For this a man and a boy are required (besides what the owner does himself — no slight addition in this case) all the year round, and additional hands at harvest-time. Mr. D. tells me he has no trouble at all about servants (as is the usual complaint throughout North America): one has lived six years and another three years with him; and he says, he would be able without difficulty to supply their places if they went away. This is, I fancy, the most aristocratic settlement in the province, and contains within ten miles scions of some of the best English and Irish families; in fact, I should say, the society is quite as good as that of an average country neighbourhood at home. For that very reason, however, I should think it is not a good district for a man who looks merely to the investment of capital to buy in; for land bears what may be called a fancy price, and the chances of advance in value are not so great as in many other places. About Brantford, for instance, the average price of land is not much higher than what is generally paid here, *cæteris paribus* (viz. about 4*l.* sterling per acre for cleared, and from 1*l.* to 1*l.* 10*s.* for wild land), though there they

will soon have steam navigation up to their doors, and a macadamized road to Hamilton; whereas here there is nothing of the kind, and no apparent prospect of early improvement in communications. A friend of mine, who has just bought a farm close to this place, gives 480*l.* for sixty cleared, and 100 uncleared acres; but then it is very prettily and advantageously situated, and has a log-house, barn, and fences upon it. Gentlemen farmers here do not ever aim at more than making their land keep themselves, their servants, and cattle, and pay the occasional labourers whom they employ; and it requires considerable management to effect this: those only can make money of a farm (in this district) who have no labour to pay.

I have procured from men of practical information and experience in these matters calculations as to the various expenses and prospects of a settler in this part of the country, and they have proved to me, conclusively, that it is under ordinary circumstances impossible for a gentleman to make money by farming. Even in the instances where land has been bought cheap, and become unexpectedly profitable, in consequence of the opening of new communications, it has been found the best plan to sell it at an advanced price to the small farmer, who labours for himself, lives econo-

mically, and, if sober and industrious, is sure to get on. Wheat is the only crop for which, at some price or other, there is a sure market in this district: it is now very cheap, only bringing 3*s.* per bushel, but the average price is a dollar. The wheat crop has not been "first-rate" in the western part of Canada this year; indeed the farmers say, not an average; but the immense produce of Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan, which is now admitted duty-free, keeps down the price. A single man, who has been accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of a gentleman's life at home, and expects to live conformably to the same standard here, ought to have 100*l.* a year, besides what he sinks in his farm. With smaller means he ought certainly not to buy land at first; but should stay for a year or two at a farmer's, in order to see his way. In this neighbourhood he could get board and lodging, with two rooms for his sole use, and his meals at his own hours, for two dollars per week (about 21*l.* per annum), and a farmer would keep a horse for him at a dollar per week; and you may imagine from this how cheap provisions and forage must be. In order to get experience in Canadian farming (a very different sort of thing from British), he might rent land from year to year at two dollars per acre in this neighbourhood (this is now be-

coming not uncommon*; but the rent is as yet generally low in proportion to the produce, from the prejudice that exists against the tenure); and thus, without tying himself down, he might see whether he could make farming pay, and, perhaps, save some money to add to his capital, before he became a purchaser. It would not be a bad plan even for a man who bought land to place himself thus, "en pension" at first, while a bachelor, for he would certainly save money by doing so, besides avoiding the trouble of housekeeping; all, however, are anxious to have houses of their own when they come out, and from their inexperience they suffer accordingly.

The bane of this province is "brandy and wa-

* I was surprised to find this practice (of renting land) by no means uncommon in the United States, though, of course, checked both by the habits of the people and the facility of acquiring the fee-simple of new land; nor is it likely to become very extended or influential from the effect of the American law of inheritance. The contracting parties usually "go shares" in the crop, instead of agreeing upon a fixed money rent; the former seems certainly, at first sight, the more natural and equitable plan, as making the owner of the land bear the uncertainty to which its productiveness is liable, but presents great difficulties in practice, as it is nearly impossible to obtain a *bonâ fide* valuation of the produce, and a correct average of the market price each year, both of which are necessary to its operation. It is pretty nearly the metayer system of France, except that the tenant provides capital as well as labour.

ter;" at least half of the young settlers fall into the habit of drinking, more or less, and many have been pointed out to me who came from England with the most gentlemanlike habits, and apparently good principles, but from bad company and *ennui* have been led to excess, and have finally gone to utter ruin from habitual intemperance. For this reason, if there were no other, I should earnestly dissuade any man who has been accustomed to society from going upon wild land in the back woods, remote from the haunts of men. Many have conceived, perhaps, a highly poetical idea of such a life, which utterly vanishes when they attempt to realise it, and the consequences are often disgust and despair: if they can, they probably return to England, and tell every body "what a detestable place Canada is;" if they remain, they become boors and sots, unless gifted with stronger principles and happier dispositions than fall to the lot of ordinary men. On the contrary, I can imagine no happier or more wholesome life, both for mind and body, than that which a young man who, like my host, has civilised and intellectual tastes, as well as physical energy, may live in the thickly-settled and cultivated districts of the province, that is, if he have a sufficient income to be above depending altogether upon his land for subsistence: if he have emigrated as one of a family,

or have been accompanied by friends or relations from home, of course he is still better off. He has constant, yet not harassing, occupation; the consciousness that while providing for himself and his family (present or future), he is also performing a most important part in the economy of God's providence, by "replenishing the earth and subduing it;" the opportunity of becoming exceedingly useful locally and generally, in a moral point of view, by exerting himself in the cause of religion and education; and (if inclined to politics) a sphere within his reach, the extent and importance of which is daily increasing, and which even now affords full scope for energy and talent. He must not be an epicure, certainly, that is, require a French *cuisine*, but, nevertheless, he may live, as we live here, exceedingly well. I have never seen better meat, butter, bread, or milk, and groceries also are very cheap. The average price of meat is about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb., of bread $3d.$ for the 2lb. loaf, but all the farmers live upon the produce of their own land. We have had also very good wild venison, which, however, is inferior to that fed in parks; for, like all other animals, deer, in their wild state, are almost destitute of fat. There are a good many deer in this neigbourhood still. The other day, on my way from Brentford, I saw two in the road, who let us approach within 100 yards in the waggon: un-

fortunately I had left my gun behind me (for the first time since I landed in America), or I could, without doubt, by stalking, have got within thirty or forty yards, and made sure of one. There ought also to be good quail-shooting: I went out to look for some the other day, but having no dog, and being lame besides, the result of my chasse was very small; I only found one bevy, and shot one bird. If I were living here, I should try to make an annual excursion to the prairie country: —one goes to Scotland for grouse-shooting at home. It could be done without much expense of time or money, by means of steamers from Detroit to Chicago.

There is much to lament in the religious condition of most of the rural districts, as must always be the case where the population is much scattered, and allowed to outgrow the supply of ecclesiastical ministration. From never having the subject forced upon them, they begin to forget it, gradually neglect the observance of the Lord's Day, or else employ it as a day simply of bodily relaxation and amusement, omit to have their children baptized, and end by living as though they had no religion at all. No one conversant with the state of newly-settled countries can fail to recognise the truth of Dr. Chalmers's well-known proposition, "that in the matter of religious in-

struction, the demand is in an inverse ratio to the necessity of supply;" so that even granting the monstrous assumption implied in the arguments of those who maintain that the matter may be left to the ordinary operation of economic laws (the assumption, namely, that the *amount* of religion is the only thing to be considered, and that the quality signifies nothing); granting even this, I boldly maintain, that if the state so leaves it, the thinly-peopled districts will remain totally and contentedly destitute, and subside into unconscious perhaps, but practical, *atheism*. Even in Canada, where the government, and above all, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, have done much, there is great danger of this result taking place in many districts; but in the States it is infinitely worse; and I cannot help referring the unpunished outrages, the Lynch-legislation, the lawlessness, in short, of which these are symptoms, which have given an infamous distinction to so many of the border states, and from which our colonies have happily been free hitherto, more to the want of religious ministration than to the weakness of the executive, the prevalence of slavery, or any of the other causes to which the admitted evil has been attributed. Even in a political point of view, that government is wrong which does not endeavour to connect the colonies with the parent

state by the strong tie of a common faith. This was clearly shown in the late rebellion in Canada, as well as in the revolutionary war; for it is an undoubted fact, that in both cases all the members of the Church, almost without exception, remained loyal. But the great, the all-important question is, whether a government, to which the care of its people has been entrusted, and which is responsible for their welfare in its largest sense, is justified before God if it leave a population, breeding and spreading on all sides, to the chance that their own fancies and cravings will supply a sufficient amount of orthodox religious instruction and ordinances, — in short, if it suffers them to become, at hap-hazard, Churchmen, Dissenters, or infidels.

We have been exceedingly gay all this week. On Tuesday we dined with Mr. A., the judge of the district, whose office is analogous to that of an Irish assistant-barrister. On Wednesday we had a cricket match at the Woodstock club ground. I am delighted to see the old English games introduced into the colonies: they carry with them associations of the old time and the old country, which are worth a thousand political enactments, in keeping up among emigrants the feeling that, though half the globe may divide them from their native land, they are Britons still. In a new country, time is generally too valuable, in a

pecuniary point of view, for play; but where it can be spared from necessary business, I cannot think it unprofitably employed in preserving the national sports, which have had so much influence in forming the national character. In America they have never appeared, and in England they are every where going out—a pregnant symptom of the radical change which our character, habits, and institutions are in process of undergoing. We are becoming American *à vue d'œil.* To return to Woodstock: on Thursday we went to see Admiral Vansittart, whose place is near the town. He has done wonders here; built an immense house; cleared a great extent of ground for a park, and surrounded it with a regular English park-paling; in short, he has spent a large fortune upon his Canadian property, which it has been his great object to transmute as rapidly as possible into an English country-seat. Though it has not turned out a profitable speculation to himself, he has produced, by his operations, a most civilising effect upon the appearance of the country, and has certainly given a great stimulus to the prosperity of Woodstock. In his son I was delighted to meet an old schoolfellow, who recognised me immediately, notwithstanding the lapse of years: this sort of unexpected meeting with friends is very refreshing to a solitary traveller. Very few tourists, I am

told, visit this part of Canada; indeed I only heard the name of one (Lord Prudhoe), who had been lately at Woodstock. The usual plan is to go down by steam from Niagara, touching at Toronto, Kingston, and Montreal, to Quebec; and then, having seen precisely so much of the country as forms the left bank of the St. Lawrence, to draw elaborate comparisons between Canada and the United States.

LETTER XI.

TORONTO.

UNCOMFORTABLE JOURNEY. — TORONTO. — SYSTEM OF LAND SALES IN CANADA. — MR. WAKEFIELD'S PLAN. — CLERGY RESERVES. — THE BAR IN CANADA. — THE TALBOT SETTLEMENT. — VISITS FROM IRISH EMIGRANTS. — THEIR SUCCESS. — UPPER-CANADA COLLEGE. — THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN CANADA.

September.

ON Friday I bade farewell to my kind friends at Woodstock, and started per stage for Hamilton, by the same road which I had travelled before; but, alas! how different was its condition. The roads in America are dependent upon the weather, and the weather has now completely broken up. It rained unceasingly from Thursday morning to Friday evening, and the mud-holes in consequence had increased alarmingly — and a mud-hole is, as Mrs. Clavering says, a serious thing in the west; a thing to be contemplated and consulted about, measured and sounded, before the final and often fatal plunge is taken; and the sand track, which they call a road, had become so deep, that for miles together we proceeded at a crawling walk. I thought the day would never end. There were

two drunken Americans of the lowest class opposite to me, one of whom quarrelled with me outright because I would not "trade" with him for a coat, which was "too little for him, but would fit me fust-rate;" a squalling child beside me; the pouring rain above and around, and such a carriage, and such a road beneath! On our arrival at Hamilton at about nine o'clock at night, having occupied thirteen or fourteen hours in travelling fifty-five miles, we found the inns full to overflowing. There must be a wonderful traffic through this place, for it was just the same thing when I was here before; and at the principal inn they told me they had been full continually for the last month. After running about the town in the rain and mud for some time, breaking my head against scaffolding, and tumbling into overflowed drains, (for of course Hamilton does not boast of lamps, and is "going ahead" so fast, that it is one mass of rubbish and liquid dirt,) I was fortunate enough to get a dirty bed-room without any window, where I managed to sleep pretty well in spite of the fleas, and dressed and shaved in the passage. Next morning rain again; and as we had a mile to go to the wharf at which the Toronto steamer was lying, and there were not carriages enough for the crowd of passengers, a great many were late, and we started at eight

o'clock without them. Travelling in Canada makes one look out pretty sharply for number one (he who trusts to "boots" or chambermaid is lost), and as I had learned that lesson, I got my seat.

We arrived at Toronto, which is about forty-five miles from Hamilton, at about one o'clock, having touched at Oakville, the Credit, and another village or two along the shore. The view coming out of Hamilton Bay was beautiful: it is surrounded by an amphitheatre of wooded hills: and Sir Allan M'Nab's castle, the most "ambitious" building that I have seen in Canada, looks well enough at a distance, overhanging the water on a high cliff. The approach to Toronto is tame, the shores being low, but about the town are a good number of tolerable villas and gardens: the streets appear wide, and the shops handsome. Since I arrived here I have been so unwell, that I have hardly been able to leave the house; for the first two days I was at a bad inn, where I had a wretched little room without a bell, a serious inconvenience to an invalid, and noise and dirt without limit; since then, however, my circumstances have materially improved, for Mr. S., to whom I brought a letter of introduction, called upon me, and has insisted upon my removing to his house. I am now established in capital bachelor's quar-

ters, with a little study opening upon a nice garden, and full of English books and papers. I enjoy complete quiet too, which, after so much inn-work, is inestimable; so I lie on the sofa all day, and console myself amazingly well for my want of locomotive power. The only thing that annoys me is, that I have lost a good deal of time, which ought to have been spent in seeing the country north of Toronto, about Lake Simcoe, and particularly the townships of Caledon and Chingacousa —I probably spell it wrong—where a number of Irish Protestants, who have come out from our own neighbourhood in Ireland, are settled. I wanted very much to see them, and inquire into their state and prospects, but this part of my plan is now knocked on the head. I am told that the country on each side of Yonge Street, as the road from Toronto to Lake Simcoe is called, is fine, and well cultivated; there is a steamer, too, on the lake, and the principal part of the consumption and trade of Toronto is supplied from that district, so that I was sorry not to be able to see it.

One day I drove in a cab, notwithstanding my doctor's prohibition, to dine with my Niagara friends, and had, as usual, a great deal of agreeable and useful conversation. The subject of land sales is one which naturally excites much interest here, and I may as well take this oppor-

tunity of giving you the result of my inquiries upon this subject. Some of the most able and experienced of the Canadian politicians object to the government system of making the sale of land a source of revenue: they say it can be so at best but to a very limited extent, and that it would be better to *grant* land to settlers bringing out proper testimonials of character, *on condition* of their clearing a given quantity in a given time (subject to revocation of the grant if they did not fulfil the condition, or if they disposed of the land to others). Now against this plan the first obvious answer is, that, under good management, a large fund may be derived from land sales, which if applied to the importation of labourers will have a doubly good effect, that of relieving the labour market of the mother-country, and supplying that of the colony: this is proved by the example of South Australia, where the system of Mr. Wakefield has been long in operation, and where great advantages have resulted from it. The fault there has been the *high price* of land. The fever of speculation rose to such a height, that men bid against each other to a point at which a profitable return from their investment was impossible; and the consequence was much individual ruin and distress: but this mistake in the administration does not affect the principle of the

system, namely, the sale of land, and application of its produce to assisting immigration. In the United States, where that part of Mr. Wakefield's system, which relates to immigration, does not apply, the other (that relating to sales) has operated admirably. Where land is given gratuitously (great as are the benefits of increasing cultivation on any terms) there will always be, in the first place, vast jobbing and favouritism; in the second, impossibility of ascertaining whether the grantees are of a proper description, from the absence of any sufficient test, and above all, a sacrifice of the funds from which a supply of labour might be obtained. A low fixed price will not be injuriously felt as a check to the occupation of land *by desirable emigrants:* it will operate as a partial, I do not say effectual, check to the land-jobbing which is so common and so pernicious in new colonies; and if properly applied, it will supply the farmer with what he wants, viz. labour. There must, however, be in any good plan for land sales some measure analogous to the custom (which I have spoken of as prevailing in the United States) of prescriptive right of pre-emption by actual occupants. Upon this point all are agreed: *bonâ fide occupation* ought to be the condition of sale; if this be not insisted upon, the whole country, or rather all the desirable "locations" in it, must become the property of

large capitalists, who will either keep it lying waste, in the hope of an advanced price, or sell it by auction at an exorbitant rate, thereby entailing all the evils attendant upon the government auction system, without the benefit of an application of the proceeds to public purposes. Stringent regulations as to occupation and clearance must go along with the gratuitous or low-fixed-price system; and, though I know the difficulties attending upon the enforcement of conditions, and the arrangement of the right of pre-emption, I cannot but think they may and ought to be overcome. The auction-system throws so many obstacles in the way of extensive settlement, by the disadvantages under which it places small capitalists, and the subtraction of so much capital from agricultural purposes, that, notwithstanding its superior productiveness, I think it is on the whole justly objected to. If occupants, not speculators, save the money which is lost to the Government, the colony is not a loser, but a gainer to the amount of the difference, but that is the turning-point of the whole question. The gratuitous system, as formerly practised, when Government gave immense tracts to single individuals, who probably never went near them, nor thought of any thing but how to get the best price at their sale, was the most ruinous of all. Thus the

Canada company would, if their speculations had prospered, have intercepted, for the profit of the English shareholders, money which would otherwise have either remained in the pockets of actual settlers, or been paid into the treasury, and which, in either case, would, or ought to have been applied productively for colonial purposes; as it is, they have not succeeded, and probably would be content to receive back the price which they originally paid, for the immense tracts which they purchased, and the money they have since spent upon the province, without reckoning interest upon their capital at all. Thus their operations, though based upon a defective principle, and though producing in many localities an injurious effect, may probably, on the whole, be beneficial to the colony, and certainly have done far less harm than individual speculations would do. They have assisted largely in the opening of communications, and the improvement of the country in various ways, and are at this moment offering for sale allotments in a fine district, on the banks of Lake Huron, upon very advantageous terms, allowing the purchase money to be paid gradually by moderate instalments, and assisting the emigrants to arrive at their destination. In every respect I should say that, at present, purchases can be made from the Company more advantageously

than from the Government (and, *à fortiori*, more so than from individuals), but there is no reason why this superiority should be allowed to remain with them.

Lord Durham, and all the mere political economists, object strongly to the principle upon which one seventh of every township was reserved for ecclesiastical purposes; and no doubt, if one looks solely to the material prosperity of the country, these reserves are objectionable, not only as keeping so large a proportion of the territory in an uncultivated state, but as impeding the formation of internal communications between settled districts. If by any other plan the religious wants of the province could have been adequately provided for, it ought to have been adopted; and I confess that I fear the apparent advantage to be derived from the present one—namely, that of securing an increased value of church property in proportion to the increasing demand for its application—will hardly be realised. The lands must be sold within a limited time to provide for present necessities: till they are sold they produce nothing, and do more harm than good; for it is of course wholly out of the question that the clergy should occupy and clear them, and leasing wild land is unknown, so that it is merely a question of time, as to how long the church can do without the proceeds of

their sale, and allow them to increase in value, as the adjoining country improves. The "Clergy-Reserves Act" directs that these lands shall be sold at the discretion of the Governor in Council, with the proviso, that not *more than* 100,000 acres shall be sold in each year: the object of the friends of the Church is to prevent them from being sold at the price which they could now command.

I have just received an immense packet of letters from England and Ireland. Thank God! all well at home, and good news of the harvest in both countries; which news are more acceptable to me than to my Canadian friends, whose market depends upon the price of agricultural produce with you. Provisions must be very cheap here, when it can pay a man to charge (as is done at the best hotel in Toronto) only one dollar per day for board and lodging. For this, which would not do more than pay for dinner and waiter at an English provincial town, they give you four tolerable meals, as good as "*coach meals*" at home, with meat at every one, a bed-room, and attendance of servants, for "vails" are unknown here, as well as in the United States. If it were not for Mr. S.'s library I should be very badly off, for my travelling stock of books is pretty nearly read through, and I am tired of the heaps of trash which one finds in the cheap American novels:

these are sold in vast quantities throughout the province; and as they cost only about 6*d.* or 1*s.* for a three-volume novel, can be bought, read, and thrown away without scruple.

I have been asking my friends here about the chance of success which an English or Irish barrister would have at the colonial bar, and find them all agree in saying that there is not an instance of such a venture turning out well. Many have tried and all failed. This is accounted for by the operation of two causes; first, connection is all-powerful here, and it would require great superiority of learning and talent to divert business out of the established colonial channel; secondly, it is very difficult for men brought up with high and mighty notions of professional dignity, "*honoraria*," &c., to reconcile themselves to the mode of practice which prevails. Lawyers are here both barristers and attornies, there being in theory no division of labour; but business is managed much more after the fashion of the latter branch of the profession than after that of the former. In the first place, they send in their bills regularly for work and labour done, and a cause pleaded in court, or an opinion upon title, is charged in the same way as the drawing of a brief or a conveyance; then, they generally work in firms or partnerships, in which, though the parties are nominally

presumed to be ready and qualified to undertake any department of the profession, and actually do so on emergencies, yet the ordinary practice is, that one should devote himself particularly to conveyancing and chamber practice, and the other (the Mercurius) to court-work and circuit. It is consequently a young man's great object to get into a good partnership, and if he does so his fortune is made; for as his seniors die, or get promoted, he succeeds to their business as a matter of course, if qualified. Sometimes a man with connection and interest will join with another who has talents and information, but wants an opening; and their respective shares of the profits are made matters of preliminary bargain.

I am, in some respects, unlucky in the time of my visit to Toronto, the judges being on circuit, and the bishop engaged in a visitation to the western part of the province. I have, however, been fortunate enough to meet Colonel Talbot, to whom I had a letter of introduction, and who is here on his way from Kingston, where he has been paying his respects to the new governor-general. He has very kindly invited me to Port Talbot, but as my route is henceforth southward and eastward, I shall not be able to visit him. Colonel Talbot has been in Canada now about forty years, and during the whole of that time has hardly left

the log-house which he originally built, and which he still lives in. He obtained a grant of about 50,000 acres of wild land for himself from Government, upon condition of settling a certain extent of country with old-world emigrants: this he has done, but of his own property he has never sold an acre, though it is now very valuable, being situated on the northern bank of Lake Erie, in the heart of the most rapidly advancing district of the province, and uniting all sorts of natural advantages. I am told it would sell for upwards of 100,000*l.* in the market. About 700 acres only are cleared, and these Colonel Talbot keeps in his own hands, employing (which is rare here) a considerable number of labourers; the rest of his estate, of course, yields him no return whatever in its present condition. I must say that, strong as is my propensity for Canada, and great as are the charms for my imagination of a country where there is "plenty of room," I cannot conceive reconciling myself to such complete isolation as this — 100 miles is rather too great a distance from one's nearest neighbour.

This morning I have received several visits of "friends from the old countrie," who having heard of my arrival in these parts came to pay their respects, and inquire after their relations in Ireland. Among the first was my old servant S., who came

out about two months ago, and got a place, he tells me, three days after he landed, as coachman in the family of one of the judges. He likes the country very much: his wages are twelve dollars a month (without livery), out of which he hopes, in a very few years, to save money enough to get a farm, the grand desideratum here. He says this is a "fine Protestant country," and that there was "a great walk on the twelfth." My next visit was from a young lady, who officiated some years ago in the distinguished capacity of under-housemaid at ——: the transformation of the grub into the butterfly is not more complete than that which has taken place in her appearance and manners. She walked in with her brother, whom I also remembered: both were exceedingly well dressed, so much so as to make me almost blush for the *déshabille* in which I received them; shook hands with me, sat down, and proceeded to converse on the current topics of the day. Seriously speaking, they seem to have prospered amazingly, and though their "abord" was rather too American for our prejudices, I must say that neither in them nor in any other of my old acquaintances have I met with the slightest disposition to presume upon the change in our relative positions; on the contrary, they all seem to be not only delighted to see me, but to preserve all their former

class-feeling (as the Americans call it) of respect and deference. The brother told me he got twenty dollars a month as clerk at a wholesale store. The sister is unmarried, lives with him, and gets constant and lucrative employment by taking in needlework: a dollar, for instance, is the price of making a shirt, and other things in proportion. They have been telling me about all the people from our neighbourhood who are out here: generally speaking, they have succeeded very well, and occupy farms, of which the purchase-money is either partly or altogether paid. One man (J. B.) they mentioned to me as having gone this year into the Caledon township, where all our friends are settled, with a view of becoming a schoolmaster—an occupation which pays very well, I am told, in the better-settled districts. A woman, who told me she was a cousin of one of my father's tenants, amused me very much (while giving me an account of her situation and circumstances) by the apologetic manner in which she told me, half-ashamed, with respect to her husband—"Indeed, sir, he's just a Yankee; but he's a good churchman for all that." All these people seem to feel the strongest interest about their friends in Ireland, and many speak regretfully of having left it; "es ist doch schön im fremden Lande." And yet I cannot imagine their being satisfied to live at home in the

same line of life as before, after being in America; they have so much better eating and drinking here (if it were nothing else), which must be a great desideratum with the mass.

I have just had a long visit from Dr. M'Caul, Principal of Upper Canada College, and may as well take this opportunity to give you some account of the nature of that institution, and the system pursued there. It is now a school only, but before long a university will be established, at which the boys may finish their education: they will be parts of the same foundation, and under the same management. There are now one hundred and sixty boys in course of education, of whom about sixty are boarders: the latter pay only 24*l.* per annum for board, lodging, and education; the day boys, 7*l.* 10*s.* There is an excellent staff of masters, as must indeed be the case where the emoluments are so good: they get 300*l.* per annum, and a house each. The four principal masters are M. A.'s of Cambridge, and the head master a member of Trinity College, Dublin, where he was, I believe, distinguished. The course of study is framed upon the model of Eton, except that the study of French is absolutely required, (this is very useful here, from its facilitating intercourse with the French Canadians), and also an attendance upon lectures in

mechanics. There is, however, an exception made in compliance with the utilitarian tendency of a new country, which I think objectionable in theory, though Dr. M'Caul tells me that in practice it does but little harm, as hardly any avail themselves of it: this consists in the existence of what they call a "partial class," where those boys whose parents wish it are instructed, not in the regular routine of the school education, but in those practical branches only which the parents may think likely to be useful (in the material sense of the word) to the boys in after-life, such as mathematics, surveying, mechanics, &c. I hear this institution universally well spoken of; and all the best colonial families have sons in it. It has been considered advisable to modify the original charter by which subscription to the articles was made necessary on the part of the masters and professors: they are now only required to declare their belief in the canonical Scriptures, and the Trinity. The governor of the province, who is *ex officio* chancellor, has the nomination to all the offices: and as it seems to be thought right to select men from the English and Irish universities to fill them, the probability is that, generally at least, the more important will continue to be filled by churchmen; but there is no provision for that purpose. Divine worship

is performed, and the Scriptures read, morning and evening, at which the attendance is compulsory, notwithstanding repeated demands for an alteration of the rules in this particular. On Sunday the church children are instructed in the Catechism and other books of doctrine, and required to attend divine service; the others have no religious instruction given them, and are allowed to attend their own places of worship respectively, as they or their parents choose. There is a large endowment annexed to the institution, consisting of, I think, 70,000 acres of land: the management of its affairs is conducted by a council, of which the bishop is president, the chief functionaries of the province and the principal, *ex officio* members, and five others nominated by the crown. On the whole, considering the difficulties under which government labours here in matters of this nature, from the prevailing hostility to anything like exclusiveness or establishment, and the absence of all reverence for old institutions as models, I must say I am surprised and pleased to find a system with so much orthodoxy about it, employed in forming the minds of the rising generation; and I trust when the crying want of a university is supplied, this part of the colony will be as well off as can reasonably be expected in its provision for a

literary education. This school, however, must be enlarged considerably, for even now there is not room enough; and of course the number of applicants will increase yearly. It appears to me also that the cost of the education given, which is now exceedingly low, might be increased without hardship or inconvenience, so as to admit of applying part of the original endowment to the establishment of schools, to be conducted upon the same system in other places. I drove, yesterday, to see the site of the intended university; it is beautifully placed outside the town, at the top of an avenue a mile long, planted with all sorts of trees and shrubs, and very well kept: the building will, I am told, be very extensive, and in the Grecian style: till it is finished, the business of the university will go on in the *ci-devant* Parliament House.

Upon dismissing my doctor (which I am happy to say I did to-day) I asked him his charge; and he informed me it was a dollar for each visit. The system here is very different from that which prevails at home with respect to medical attendance; and the tendency of it, as in the case of the lawyers, is to lower very much the dignity of the learned professions. When a doctor is in the habit of attending upon a resident family, he sends in his account at the end of the year, like

the tailor or shoemaker; and then, as my medical friend complained very bitterly, ensues generally a scene of bargaining and beating down, and disputing the number of visits, which must be annoying enough; for he does not supply medicines, as the English country doctors do, but deals in the variable and intangible commodities of operations and visits only: and as there is no fixed tariff of charges, his own estimate of the value of his skill and labour generally differs very considerably from that formed by his patients. In the case of casual attendance the same system is pursued, only that of course the bill is sent in immediately. There is no doubt, in short, that a man of refined and fastidious habits will meet with rubs and crosses at every turn in this country, and had far better remain at home.

LETTER XII.

COBOURG.

LEAVE TORONTO. — COBOURG. — HETEROGENEOUS CHARACTER OF POPULATION IN UPPER CANADA. — RIDE TO PETERBOROUGH. — TOWNSHIPS OF CAVAN AND MONAGHAN. — IRISH PROTESTANT FARMERS. — PETERBOROUGH. — LIFE OF A SETTLER IN THE BACK-WOODS. — OCCUPATIONS AND AMUSEMENTS. — WANT OF SERVANTS. — CHEAPNESS OF LIVING.

Cobourg, September.

I LEFT Toronto on the 17th, having remained a week there, almost entirely in my friend S.'s study, where I was certainly as comfortable as was possible under the circumstances; still a week of inactivity is too much to lose out of my limited time. And now once more for noise and bustle, and perpetual motion—for changing my bed every night, and packing every morning. In this country all the world is in a whirl and fizz, and one must be in the fashion; every thing and every body seem to go by steam: if you meet an acquaintance in the street, he is sure to have "just arrived" from some place three or four hundred miles off, and to be "just starting" upon a similar expedition in some other direction. After

a short experience of this mode of life one quite forgets that there is such a thing as repose or absence of noise, and begins to think that the blowing of steam is a necessary accompaniment and consequence of the ordinary operation of the elements—a Yankee music of the spheres.

At twelve o'clock I sailed in the Kingston boat, which touches at several places on the northern shore of the Lake; amongst others at Cobourg, where I now am. I called on the evening of my arrival upon a gentleman to whom I had an introduction, and settled to ride with him to Peterborough, a village about forty miles "back" (as they say here) beyond the "Rice Lake," close to which is the settlement of those Irish whom the government brought out some fifteen years ago as an experiment in state colonisation. There is a curious feature about Upper Canada which I do not remember having mentioned to you, and which strikes a stranger very much, and that is, the exceedingly heterogeneous and exotic character of its population: it is much more remarkable here than in the States, because the country has not been settled long enough for a generation born in it to have sprung up to any extent; so that there appears to be no groundwork of native population at all: every body is a foreigner here; and "home," in their mouths, invariably means another

country. Then you have the provincial peculiarities of every part of the British Islands contrasted with those of European and American foreigners: one man addresses you in a rich Cork brogue, the next in broad Scotch, and a third in undeniable Yorkshire; the Yankee may be known by his broad-brimmed hat, lank figure, and nasal drawl: then you have the French Canadian, chattering patois, in his red cap, blue shirt, sash, and moccasins; the German, with his blue blouse and black belt; and the Italian, following the usual trades of his country, image-making and confectionery, and as easily distinguishable as at home. Most foreigners go to the States, but there they amalgamate to a certain extent with the native-born population, or at least are swallowed up in it: here, though of course the vast majority are British, *all* are foreigners; nor does any fixed, definite character appear to have yet arisen in the province, which might absorb and remodel that of the new-comers. The Canadians are neither British nor American: the local circumstances and situation of the country (which are among the most powerful of the influences which form national character) tend towards the latter; and the tendency is increased by the vicinity of, and intercourse with, the States: on the other hand, early habits and associations, com-

munication with their friends in the old country, political and ecclesiastical institutions, and the antipathy produced by rivalry and collision with their American neighbours, unite them to Great Britain. I think they are more American than they believe themselves to be, or would like to be considered; and in the ordinary course of things, as the emigrants cease to bear so large a proportion as they do now to those born in the province, they must become more so: still it is very important to recollect that here is a national character in process of formation, and that now is the time to infuse into it, as far as possible, those elements which we are accustomed to consider valuable in our own; above all, to consider deeply the momentous question, upon the determination of which I do not hesitate to say the future welfare of Canada, as well as its connection with Great Britain, depends—namely, that of the maintenance and encouragement of a national church.

The sympathisers came over to Cobourg at the time of the disturbances, but were fortunately anticipated in their designs. The chance of these inroads is certainly a very serious objection to settling near the frontier or shores of the boundary waters. If wars were likely to be as common as in the middle ages, we should find the "peels" and watch-towers of the debateable land rising

along the Canadian border: as it is, the victory of the commercial over the military spirit is signalised by the fact that, with very few exceptions, fortified places seem to be considered unnecessary on both sides of the lines; nor is there any thing to prevent us from walking into Buffalo, or the Americans from occupying Toronto, any fine morning in the year: both took place during the last war.

On the 19th I rode from Cobourg to Peterborough, thirty-five miles, over a pretty, or at least a *good* country: but beauty here consists not in forest, but in clearing. In the eye of a Canadian absence of trees is the first element of the picturesque. My companion had been member of the legislature for the county through which we passed, and gave me a great deal of information about its condition and circumstances. We passed between the townships of Cavan and Monaghan, settled, as you may suppose from the names, principally by Protestants from the North of Ireland; and I was very much gratified by seeing the progress which they have made. I visited the houses of several; and the result of my inquiries was every where the same: all were doing well. One man from Drum, near Cavan, who came out without a dollar, has now a capital house and 1200 acres of land; another from Wattle-bridge is also very

flourishing, and has been member of the legislature. Two brothers from Clones, who came out almost paupers, have excellent houses (better than Mr. P.'s), and every appearance of wealth and abundance. Those whom I have mentioned were all visited by chance, as they happened to live within reach of the road; and their stories are almost all the same. They began by day-labour, or taking land "on shares" (that is, the occupier giving the owner half the produce), and very soon made money enough to go upon wild land and begin to clear. When a man buys land he is seldom expected to pay all the money down at once; and many have not a farthing when they go into the bush—trusting to each year's crop to pay the year's instalment. This, however, is of course not so good a plan as to earn a little money to begin upon. I was by no means prepared by any thing that I had heard in the old country to see so many instances of signal success so near to each other as I have seen among these Irish Protestants: at the same time it must be recollected that those whom one sees on the land must naturally be in a great proportion the *successful* among the settlers. When a man fails, or even when he does not get on well, he generally goes away to try his luck in the States, or subsides again into a labourer. As far as I can gather from the clergymen and others

whom I have inquired of, they have not suffered, generally speaking, in this district, that moral and religious deterioration which is the great danger to settlers in a thinly-peopled country. They are tolerably well supplied with spiritual ministration; and have greatly improved, like the rest of the province, in attention to religious ordinances of late years. I hope by degrees the country will be well supplied with clergy, and then the grand evil connected with the state of society here will be in a great measure removed: at present I look upon it as a very serious one indeed; and the worst of it is, that in the mean time habits of carelessness or schism are formed among the growing population, which the church, however efficiently she may hereafter be represented, will find it very difficult to eradicate.

In the course of our ride we passed close to a curious tower, built on the banks of the Rice Lake by an eccentric individual, a Mr. B. Having met with very severe domestic misfortunes, and become disgusted with the world, he selected this as the place of his retreat, and lived for several years in complete retirement, without even a track through the woods leading to his house, and occupying himself entirely in literary pursuits. One day he suddenly departed as mysteriously as he had come, with the view, it is said, of spending the rest of

his life in the East; and his tower remains untenanted and unclaimed, as a memorial of his strange eventful history. He seems to have been quite a realisation of the character of Basil Mertoun in Scott's "Pirate."

Peterborough is the result of a government settlement made seventeen years ago, when a large body of emigrants were brought out from the South of Ireland, and provided with food for a year, stock and house: in fact, as a gentleman told me, who came out at the same time, they had a great deal too much done for them; and whether in consequence of that, or from being naturally a less energetic and industrious race, they have not prospered near so rapidly or universally as the Protestants of Cavan and Monaghan. However, though there are some exceptions, most of these also have got on, more or less. At the same time a number of half-pay officers, who had received grants of land, came out; and these have almost invariably done badly. They came to the country with habits totally unfitted for the life they were to lead, spent all their money, and ended generally by leaving the country with broken spirits and fortunes. A few naval men are exceptions to this account, certainly. But I cannot too often repeat that this is the country for a labourer, not for a gentleman, *that is, as far as the back-woods and*

farming, as a speculation, are concerned. If a man has an independent income, and chooses to live in a town, or in an old settled part of the country, it is quite a different thing.

The town of Peterborough is very prettily situated in a valley surrounded by hills, through which a river called the Otanobee flows. It is large and straggling, containing nearly 2000 inhabitants; yet the intervals between the houses are filled with pine-stumps still, and the boundary-line between town and forest (raw material and manufacture) is hardly distinguishable as you pass it. On the morning after my arrival at Peterborough I walked two miles to a seven-o'clock breakfast with Mr. S., the first settler who came to this township twenty years ago. He gave me an amusing account of his troubles and difficulties at starting; but says they are all over now, and that his only feeling at present is (such as Cooper describes Leather-stocking as expressing) that population is surrounding him too thickly and rapidly, and breaking in upon his solitude. When he first came out it required more time to come from Montreal to where he lives than it does now from London: there was not a stick cut in the forest; and Mr. S. was empowered almost literally to pitch his tent (or rather his log-hut) where he liked. It is curious that under these circumstances

he should have selected a situation so judiciously, that after twenty years' experience he is now building a new frame-house within ten yards of the original log-hut. His solitude was first invaded by the government settlement of Irish which I mentioned before: he was at first a good deal alarmed, as the new settlers bore no very good character; but he told me his fears proved groundless, and that he has never suffered any annoyance from them. I saw one or two of them, who appeared very well satisfied with their condition. One, a mason, told me he got as much work during the summer as he could do, at six shillings a day and his board: he and his sons had a grant of 300 acres, and have bought 300 more. A blacksmith gets six shillings and sixpence for shoeing a horse; and the profits of other trades are proportionably high. Mr. S. told me there was a good deal of society to be had in this district. Winter is the gay season, and then sleighing-parties, dances, and reunions of all kinds are the order of the day. His family appeared perfectly satisfied with the mode of life which they are accustomed to: and he said that many of their neighbours who had returned from hence to England regretted very much that they had done so, and were longing for the "life in the woods" again. There is a great drawback, however, felt by those who, like most of the upper

classes at home, have been accustomed to so much attendance of servants as to be quite helpless when thrown upon their own resources in domestic matters: it is impossible to keep servants here. Mrs. S. brought out several from her own neighbourhood in Ireland, but they have hardly ever remained above six months or a year: a man is considered what the Germans call "kind des hauses" (a child of the house) after eighteen months' service; they are sure to leave you too at the most awkward moment. A cook will perhaps inform you, two hours before you expect a large party to dinner, that she intends to leave you; and you have no sort of hold upon them, for they do not care a farthing about getting a character, being sure of a place, if qualified, without any thing of the sort. The young ladies of an emigrant's family must be prepared to cook the dinner and sweep the house upon emergencies; and I am quite convinced that they may do so consistently with the utmost refinement of mind and manners. This inconvenience, of course, decreases, and will continue to decrease, as the population of the country goes on, and the field for labour diminishes.

Every fortnight Mr. S. gets a parcel from home, with books, newspapers, and letters, which keeps his family quite "*au courant du jour:*" indeed they are not a bit farther, in point of time, from London

than many parts of Scotland and Ireland were one hundred years ago. There is a difficulty in many localities about primary education; for though there is a government school in each township, yet the distances must be often too great for insulated settlers to avail themselves of it; and besides, the superintendence of the schools and the appointment of masters being now in the hands of the municipal councils established by Lord Sydenham, and which are not, generally speaking, composed of the best-qualified persons for such purposes, there are in many places loud, and, I believe, well-founded complaints of the administration of this department, particularly with regard to the qualification of masters. After a certain age, the college at Toronto appears to offer a very good education, and at a much cheaper rate than that at which any thing approaching to it could be procured at home. That institution must, however, be enlarged considerably, as I said before, or others must be established.

Land may be had tolerably cheap about Peterborough now. There was a rush made in this direction eight or nine years ago of half-pay officers and others, who spent their money foolishly, ruined or disgusted themselves, and have found it impossible to sell their "improvements" at any thing like a remunerating price. In fact, as my

landlady at Peterborough, a very nice Yorkshire woman, observed to me, "This is a country where the rich get poor, and the poor rich." At the same time this is only true where the rich have gone foolishly to work: they generally want to build good houses, and make fine places, all at once in the heart of the forest,—an undertaking, at the present price of labour, absolutely ruinous, of course: but if a man goes prudently to work, I think he can live at about half the expense which is required in England. Meat, vegetables, wheat, oats, tea and sugar, are all at about half the English price, and wine at little more; house-rent (as far as one can calculate where circumstances vary so much) pretty much the same in or near the towns*; clothes are dearer (but then you may wear what you like); and the wages of servants, particularly men, much higher than would be given to individuals possessing equal qualifications at home: good servants are rarely to be found, yet they are not proportionably appreciated.

In the afternoon of the same day I returned to Cobourg by the same road which I had travelled before.

* There are houses in King Street, Toronto, occupied by tradesmen, for which 200*l.* per annum is paid,—a higher rent, I should say, than similar houses would bring in Sackville Street, Dublin.

LETTER XIII.*

KINGSTON.

JOURNEY TO THE TRENT. — A CANADIAN FARMER'S ACCOUNT OF THE WESTERN STATES. — VOYAGE TO KINGSTON. — CANADIAN POLITICS. — THE "CRISIS." — ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF SIR CHARLES BAGOT'S POLICY. — CASES OF IRELAND AND CANADA COMPARED. — ULTIMATE ADVANTAGE WHICH THE PRINCIPLE OF "RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT" HOLDS OUT TO THE BRITISH PARTY. — KINGSTON PENITENTIARY. — CANADIAN LEGISLATURE.

Kingston, September.

FROM Cobourg I proceeded by stage to the mouth of the Trent, which is the outlet of the lakes north of Ontario, and stopped at a small tavern there with an agreeable companion, whom I had picked up *en route*. We were greatly amused in the course of the evening by the account which a Canadian farmer, who was at the inn, gave us of a visit which he had paid to some relations of his in Illinois and Michigan (U. S.). He described, in the most quaint and graphic manner, the commercial distress and universal distrust, the "bagus," and "shin-plasters," and "wild-cat money," and

* A considerable part of the following Letter (that which treats of Canadian politics) appeared in the Dublin Evening Mail (in a somewhat abridged form), under the form of a letter, signed "A Traveller."

all the other equally-expressive denominations of false coin and bad notes, which are so well known in the West: he told us how the people would flock round him when he produced a sovereign, and bid against each other for it in the trumpery paper of their respective banks; and how produce is so plentiful, and cash so scarce, that in the interior farmers will sell a bushel of wheat for sixpence. "Well, he would not live in such a country, he *expected*, if they gave him half the state: they managed to *hook* eighteen dollars out of him; and he was glad enough to *clear* with what he had left." I had just been reading Mrs. Clavering's excellent sketches of the same country; so that I was doubly amused by our friend's very original view of it. Making allowances for his anti-American prejudices (which struck me the more from his own exceedingly American manners), he confirmed her account completely.

The next morning we started between four and five o'clock on a bitterly-cold morning, in a lumber-waggon, for Belleville, where we met the steamer bound for Kingston. Our route lay down the Bay of Quinté, the shores of which are considered quite the garden of the province: one of the oldest settlements of the U. E. loyalists was made there. It is a very pretty inlet, reaching about sixty miles into the country, and averaging

about two or three miles in breadth; the shores are low, but wooded to the water's edge, and well diversified with clearings and farm-houses. Land is, however, comparatively cheap, and the influx of emigrants smaller than I should have expected: it is out of the main westward route; and the great object with them always is to go straight on in that direction as far and as fast as steam will carry them, or their money hold out: whereas the true plan evidently is to push off from the lakes and rivers into the country, where settlements are growing up, where labour is at a premium on account of the deficient supply, and land cheap on account of the deficient demand. Fortunately, a friend at Kingston had secured a room for me, so that I am comfortably settled, though there is a great crowd in the place; for the legislature is sitting, and the town offers very insufficient accommodation at such times.

On Saturday I dined at the Governor-General's: he lives a couple of miles from the town, in a pretty villa on the banks of the lake. There are only two or three acres of "*pleasance*," however; and the roads are so bad in the neighbourhood, that to drive on them, except in the country-waggons, is impossible, and even riding is difficult and disagreeable; so that, for ladies, I can hardly imagine a less agreeable residence than

Kingston. For men there are a good many out-of-door "resources," such as boating and shooting; besides which, the easy access by steam to all parts of the frontier is very convenient.

The present is rather an important crisis in Canadian policy, Sir Charles Bagot having just changed his executive council, thrown himself unreservedly into the hands of the French and Reforming party (as it is called), and committed to M. Lafontaine, the leader of that party, the task of forming a new cabinet. As I have occupied myself, while here, principally in discussing the subject with people of different political views, I may as well give you a short outline of the state of affairs, as it appears to a disinterested observer, and of the grounds upon which I think Sir Charles Bagot's policy may be successfully defended.

The circumstances which preceded his administration were as follows:—After the suppression of the late rebellion the Queen's government introduced a bill for uniting the two Canadian provinces, giving to each an equal share in a common legislature: this bill, framed expressly for the purpose of neutralising the preponderance of French influence in the Lower Province, was, by the whole French party, vigorously opposed; they considered it as indicative that their wishes and

interests were to be invariably sacrificed to those of the British province; they complained that they were saddled with a share of the Upper Canadian debt, at a time when they had none themselves; and that they were only allowed to return an equal number of members, while the proportion of their population to that of Upper Canada was that of eight to four and a half. Their complaints, however, were disregarded, and the measure passed into a law: the elections took place under it for the first united provincial parliament; and it then soon appeared that the calculations of both the advocates and opponents of the union had been erroneous. Notwithstanding the unscrupulous use which was made of Government influence, the French Canadians succeeded in returning such a body of representatives favourable to their views as to give them, with the assistance and co-operation of the (so-called) Reformers of Upper Canada, a virtual preponderance in the Lower House. As long as Lord Sydenham lived, he succeeded, by the influence of his talents, and the terror (for such it literally was) of his name, in carrying on the government as he pleased, and browbeating the parliament into acquiescence. His ministers were men of considerable administrative talent, but were combined without reference to unanimity of political senti-

ment, commanding the cordial support of no party, and dependant upon him alone for their political existence. This state of things could not last: defections were daily taking place, isolated elections invariably ended in the defeat of Government candidates; and, even before Lord Sydenham's death, it was admitted by all parties that a change was inevitable.

Such was the state of affairs which awaited Sir Charles Bagot on his arrival, and which it was necessary that his policy should be shaped to meet. Three courses were open to him:—1st. To form his cabinet of the British or Tory party exclusively; 2dly. To select the moderates of both parties; and 3dly. To throw himself altogether into the hands of the French Canadians and their allies. Now I am convinced that the last of these was the one which presented fewest difficulties, and was most likely to conduce to the general good; at the same time, I fully admit that this course, too, has difficulties—that it is open to plausible, nay, real and grave objections; but I maintain that greater difficulties and stronger objections present themselves to the advocates of any other.

Let us then consider, first, the policy of forming an exclusively British cabinet. By the adoption of this course the Governor must have

given up all hopes of commanding a majority in the House of Assembly: I consider the division which took place upon the address presented to him immediately after the change of ministry as decisive upon this point: it was to the effect that the house approved of such a policy as would admit the French Canadians to a fair share of the executive, and was carried by a majority of fifty-one. Now this division, considering the juncture at which it took place, must fairly, I think, be construed to indicate a qualified approval on the part of the House of the measures which had just been adopted, and is at the very least a proof that nothing like an exclusively British cabinet would have been tolerated; indeed, there can be no doubt that the large majority which the present ministry commands would have been in opposition to one composed of Tories. Nor would the case have been mended by a dissolution, as far as I can ascertain; the present parliament was elected under the pressure of an influence strongly unfavourable to the French, and the best-informed persons are of opinion, that the latter would be still more powerful in a new one. Now it would be an extreme, a dangerous, nay, without strong military support, an impracticable undertaking, to carry on the government of Canada in opposition to a permanent majority of the House of Assembly.

Even though it should be contended that the principle of "responsible government," admitted by Lord John Russell and Lord Durham, is not to be considered as inviolable, (and a retrograde policy—the retracing of a step taken in the popular direction is very invidious and difficult in these democratic times,) still no reasonable man would, I think, wish to see it violated, except from obvious and extreme necessity. Without unanimity between the legislative and executive bodies (where a representative constitution exists), the whole machinery of government is obstructed, the most useful and necessary measures are rejected, constant irritation is kept up, and a plausible ground is afforded for persuading the people that their wishes expressed through their representatives are systematically disregarded, and that they are to look upon the Governor and his ministers as the organs of a foreign and hostile power. Such a plan was long and systematically tried in Lower Canada, and we all know the result: I cannot think that it would have been wise for Sir Charles Bagot to decide upon the adoption of a similar one for the United Provinces.

But, secondly, an objector may say, "If I concede that it is impossible to govern Canada by means of a cabinet, from which the French party

is excluded, I have still a right to ask, why shall men so notorious for their hostility to British connection as MM. Lafontaine, Girouard, and Baldwin be selected? Why did not Sir Charles Bagot take men of French extraction but unquestioned loyalty, and by forming a ministry composed of these, united with moderate Tories, secure the confidence of the House, without giving encouragement to disaffection?" The answer is simple — because it was impossible; the men were not to be found — the object could not have been attained. It most unfortunately happens that all the leaders of the French Canadians, all those who possessed the confidence, or could command the support of their party, were (perhaps in many instances from that very circumstance) suspected, with more or less justice, of being concerned in the proceedings which led directly to open rebellion. The fact is, that immediately upon the outbreak, in the exercise of what was perhaps a wise and necessary precaution, the Governor in council suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and arrested, or offered a reward for the arrest of, all those whom, either from the prominent part which they had taken in opposition, or from private information, he had reason to suspect of being engaged in instigating it. This was the extent of the "proscription" so much insisted upon in the cases of M.

Lafontaine and M. Girouard; neither of them was ever tried, much less convicted; and though I admit that a suspicion so grave, and so publicly evinced, constituted a reason, and a good reason, for not employing them so soon afterwards in the public service, I deny that it ought to be deemed one so decisive as to outweigh all considerations of public benefit under any conceivable circumstances, and to doom those who were the objects of it to irredeemable ignominy. At any rate, if it had been so deemed by the Governor-general, he would thereby have determined to forfeit the support of the French Canadians, and with it all chance of a majority in the House of Assembly. To have promoted unpopular or insignificant individuals, with the view of conciliating the party to which they had been attached, would have been as hopeless as if the Queen, professing a personal objection to Sir Robert Peel or Lord Stanley, had selected some obscure Tory members to supply vacancies in Lord Melbourne's cabinet, for the purpose of commanding for that cabinet the support of the Conservative party in the House of Commons. Sir Charles Bagot cannot be supposed to have any abstract preference for men of suspected loyalty: if he could have found unobjectionable men to answer his purpose, there can be no doubt that he would have chosen them, and it is

therefore fair to argue that he felt the impossibility of so doing. The fact is that in all countries which possess popular constitutions there must and will be parties, or schools of opinion, to some one of which every man who thinks to any purpose must attach himself, more or less strictly; by means of one or other of these parties the government of such countries must be carried on, and the leaders of that party must be the representatives and organs of the executive. I conceive that, whether in England or in Canada, the theory of those who advocate the promotion of "no party" men, who inveigh against "class-legislation" (I mean, of course, in the vulgar acceptation of the term), and profess to make "measures not men" their watch-word, is perfectly chimerical and Utopian; and I am sure that Sir Charles Bagot was right in not attempting to act upon any such theory here.

Having thus shown, as I think, the great, the almost insurmountable difficulties, which attended the adoption of the two first mentioned plans, I will proceed to consider those which applied to the third: namely, the formation of an exclusively French and Reforming ministry. These may be reduced to two; first, the evil effects produced in the province by the discouragement of loyalty, and the stimulus to revolutionary principles thereby

given; and secondly, the example which it holds out to Radicals at home, and particularly in Ireland. Now as to the "discouragement of loyalists," as it is called, which consists in telling the persons who supported the government during the rebellion that they are not to have a permanent monopoly of office, whatever may be the public detriment resulting therefrom, I confess I do not look forward with much apprehension to its effects. Such an argument cannot of course apply to those of the British party who are loyalists in the true sense of the term (and I rejoice in testifying that even my limited experience has made me acquainted with many such), men whose loyalty is not dependent upon the possession or expectation of place, but is shown in promoting the general good of the country, and facilitating the administration of government, even though they may consider themselves individually as ill-treated. And as to those men who talk of leaving the government to shift for itself in the event of another emergency, because, forsooth, they have not gained by their support of it all the personal advantages which they expected, while I abhor their principles, I have no fear of their seriously acting upon them; the same feeling of self-interest which, upon their own showing, prompted their attachment to the British crown, will still ensure their adhesion

to the government in difficulties, so long as it is generally recognised among them that the connection with England is beneficial to Canada. While England provides markets and enacts differential duties for the wheat and timber of her colony, while she maintains a military force for its protection, and lends the assistance of her credit for the negotiation of its loans, so long may she count upon the loyalty of the class of politicians which I refer to; it is by no means necessary to secure it by the additional bribe of office. I believe this class, though noisy, not to be numerous; I am sure it is not formidable.

At any rate it is not too much to set against the chance of their defection the hope of conciliating the French Canadians; it may be too late to do so, but the experiment is well worth trying. I see nothing in their position and circumstances which leads me to conclude that their hostility to England is irreconcileable; I do not perceive the existence of a body of leaders analogous to the Romish priests in Ireland, whose natural and obvious interest it is to get rid of British connection, as the sole obstacle to their undisputed supremacy, nor do I see, as at home, a deep-rooted and permanent hostility between those who *have*, and those who *want*, which, connected as it is with the past history of Ireland, and the transfers of pro-

perty which have so repeatedly taken place, forms such an important element in the desire of revolution which prevails there. If it were so, if there were such materials, and such leaders of agitation, I should despair of conciliating French Canada by the concession of political privileges: but the contrary is the case; if ever there was a people fitted by nature to be good and loyal subjects of a monarchical government, it is the French population of Lower Canada; nor can any thing be conceived more repugnant to all their feelings and principles than opposition and disaffection to the powers that be. A dread of the restless, innovating, progressive spirit of the British population (who are daily gaining upon them and pushing them out), strengthened by a systematic neglect on the part of government of their natural claims, habits, and prejudices, have led them to look upon British connection and authority as an evil, and united them in a temporary alliance with the Upper Canada reformers, who are the very antipodes of themselves, and with whom common opposition to the government forms their only bond of union. Let their leaders, who, like all clever and ambitious men, wish for power, have their fair chance of attaining to it in the ordinary constitutional way, and they will have no inducement whatever to transfer their allegiance from Great Britain to the

United States. Let the people be convinced that the mother-country means to act fairly by them, and that their laws, usages, and language are not to be proscribed, and we may hope that they will again show the loyalty and devotion which preserved the province in 1776—1780; and again in 1812—1814.

But again—it is said that the example which Sir Charles Bagot's policy exhibits to those who are disaffected at home, is of so pernicious a tendency as to justify him in disregarding its apparent advantages. Now, what does this "example" amount to? I think it will be found upon consideration that the principle which Sir Charles acted upon here is one which is clearly and unquestionably incorporated into the practice of the British Constitution; namely, the principle of "responsible government;" or, in other words, the principle that upon the deliberative and permanent sense of the nation, expressed in the constitutional manner through their representatives, the political existence of a ministry shall depend. Such is the only inference which the alleged resemblance between the circumstances of the two countries can possibly suggest; and as I think no reasonable man can doubt that if Mr. O'Connell himself could unfortunately command a decisive majority in the British House of Commons, a

majority which would follow and support no other leader, Her Majesty would commit to his hands the administration of affairs, it does seem to me most unfair to accuse Sir Charles Bagot and Sir Robert Peel of having introduced by their Canadian policy a novel and dangerous principle into our constitutional practice. It is obvious that the essential, all-important distinction between the cases of Ireland and Canada is, that the former is not a colony, but part and parcel of the mother-country, possessing her proportionate voice in the Imperial Legislature, and consequently her share in the desired controul over the Imperial executive. The whole justification of Sir Charles Bagot's policy resting upon its preserving the analogy to one existing system, it is totally impossible to wrest it into a precedent for departing from that system.

If it be said that this state of things supplies the Irish with an argument for the Repeal of the Union, for the purpose of acquiring that control over the nomination of their ministers which the Canadians enjoy, I answer, of course it does. Those who think that the other benefits resulting from the Union, including a share in the power and privileges of the British Legislature, do not counterbalance the fact that Irish appointments are not necessarily made in accordance with the

wishes of the majority of Irish representatives, must consistently wish for its repeal; but it needed no Canadian "example" to tell them that; they knew it perfectly well before. If Ireland had an independent Parliament, it would as a matter of course claim and exercise what are now the usual and prescriptive privileges of a representative body; as she has not, she can no more fairly ask to act as though she had, than the members for the boroughs and county of Lancaster can claim a control over the appointment to the Chancellorship of the Duchy. For a considerable period before the late change of ministry took place, the Whigs preserved their majority in the House of Commons entirely by means of the Irish and Scotch members; the majority of English members was opposed to them; and yet I never heard of English members founding upon this indisputable fact an argument for the repeal of the two unions. The privileges possessed by the different component parts are—in theory at least, for I do not enter into the question of representation—strictly equal and reciprocal, and surely, even in point of dignity, it is preferable to exercise the influence which we possess in the Imperial Parliament, than to have the exclusive management of affairs in a province or a colony.

Again, it may be said that the principle of

responsible government, though necessary at home, is not so in the colonies. Now my object has been to show that it was, if not absolutely necessary, at least—what comes to the same thing in practice—pre-eminently expedient to act upon that principle in Canada, and if I have succeeded in doing so, the argument founded upon the evil effects of the example falls to the ground; that example can have no effect except in so far as it is novel and unprecedented; if the analogy of our ordinary practice be preserved, it is in fact nugatory. But the truth is, that the very nature of colonial government admits of the appointment to office of those with whose principles the supreme government does not concur, with peculiarly trifling risk of pernicious results; because the Governor can always, backed by the power of authorities at home, exercise a control over the policy of his subordinates, and place a veto, if necessary, upon measures which may appear to him of a revolutionary or injurious tendency. In fact, a determination to do so, boldly and firmly, whenever there may arise a *dignus vindice nodus*, is quite consistent with the system of ordinary non-interference, and must necessarily go along with it, if the colony is to be permanently preserved. For instance, an attack upon the church, or an attempted alteration of the fundamental laws of property, would justify

the mother-country in asserting and exercising her right of general superintendence, and refusing to permit such measures to be entertained, and if the result of doing so were the resignation of the provincial ministers, and the refusal of the Parliament to support those appointed in their room, she would probably be driven to adopt the invidious and coercive course of governing without them, and in spite of them. But, in the first place, I do not think they would throw down the gauntlet in such a case, after having tasted the sweets of office; and in the next place I believe that the democratic policy of the party now in power was rather the effect than the cause of their opposition to government, and that it will be—as far as regards the French, at least—neutralised by their accession to power. At any rate the experiment was worth trying, and if things came to the worst, there would remain the appeal to coercion whenever it might be thought necessary to make it.

Another important consideration which has not, I think, had due weight with the party who impugn the present policy of government is, that the evil effects of it which they deplore, will, upon their own showing, be probably but temporary. Whatever may have been, on the whole, the policy of the Union, one beneficial result of

it at least they will acknowledge; namely, that in the course of a few years the British population will so far outnumber the French, as to ensure to the former party an immense preponderance in the legislature; it is only by their union, not by their numbers, that the latter hold their ground at present, and every year must diminish the amount of their influence. Let the British only bide their time, and the game is in their own hands; the very principle which is now conceded will guarantee their accession to, and continuance in power. So much for Canadian politics, of which all the world is talking here, and which will of course form a fertile theme of discussion and recrimination at home.*

* The events which have lately taken place in Canada, and led to a change of the provincial ministry, do not, in the slightest degree, alter my opinion, as to the policy of the measures adopted by Sir Charles Bagot, though M. Lafontaine and his friends have certainly not exhibited that moderation which I hoped for.

There is, of course, a limit to concession; there is, as I always said, a point at which the Imperial Government must take its stand in opposing unreasonable pretensions; and it will do so with incalculably better grace, with incalculably greater moral force, and support of public opinion both at home and abroad, if it have shown itself ready to satisfy, what may fairly be called the legitimate expectations of a free people.

I am not without hope that these considerations may, even among the French population of Canada, have sufficient weight to prevent them from supporting the late

I went on Monday to see the Penitentiary, which is framed on the model of the United States prison at Auburn. The convicts are kept continually employed at different trades or at labour in the building, which is not yet finished. It is calculated that with two hundred inmates they can defray the expenses of the establishment; it is possible that it may be so—though even here I doubt it—in a country where the dearness of labour ensures a high price for its produce; but wherever the rate of wages approaches nearly to the minimum of subsistence, the superior energy and industry produced by competition will effectually prevent the prison manufactures from being sold at a profit. It is slave labour against free, and the former is proverbially the dearer, under ordinary circumstances. Another strong objection to the system, as applied to a country where the supply of labour is greater than the field for its employment, is, that it interferes with the means of subsistence

ministry in their overweening and unconstitutional conduct.

Strong symptoms may already be observed of a difference of opinion on this subject, in the party which has hitherto acted in concert, many of the liberals perceiving that now is their last chance of proving that the principle of "responsible government" is reconcileable with the connection between a mother-country and a colony.

of the working classes, so that against the amount saved to the community by the labour of the prisoners, is to be set the distress of the artisans who are met in the market by its produce. I mention these things because there is an inclination in England and Ireland to adopt the American system, and I am quite convinced that it is not adapted to our circumstances; it will seldom pay for the machinery of instruction, and for the loss in materials, and it will contribute to depress the condition of the artisans, whose market is kept down, for whether at a loss or not the prisoner's produce must be sold.

I went round and saw them at work in the different rooms and yards; the cooking, washing, every thing in fact, is done by them, so that, except guards and clerks, there are no servants or officials at all; the work is carried on in perfect silence, so far as it can be enforced, and any word or sign passing between the convicts is punished either by bread and water, or by the whip. Corporal punishment is resorted to continually, at the discretion of the keepers, but subject to an appeal to the warden; and they told me that in cases of resistance the rest of the convicts, actuated probably by a wish to gain favour, are always prompt and willing to assist the keeper; the consequence is, that resistance is

hardly ever attempted. From six in the evening to six in the morning they are alone in their cells, and also during the whole of Sunday; and they invariably say upon being questioned—as was the custom at the end of their stay—that this was the real hardship of their situation, particularly the Sunday's idleness. In other respects the punishment seems to me far too lenient for the class of offences for which it is intended; the convicts are exceedingly well fed and clothed, have plenty of occupation, and those who can read are allowed to have their bibles and prayer-books, and such religious tracts as the chaplain chooses to give them. The shortest period for which they are imprisoned is seven years, which certainly make a great hole in a man's life, to be spent as they are in silence and monotony, and without hearing from friends or the world without. Still it *looks* so tolerable, indeed, I may say, comfortable, as not to be a good "*in terrorem*" punishment. The convicts are very healthy; indeed it is a curious statistical fact, that out of one hundred and sixty-five prisoners, many of them old and diseased at their admission, there has not been a single death during the past year.

I attended one day in the House of Assembly, and was, I confess, disappointed—even with the British House of Commons in my mind's eye—

with the appearance of the members, generally speaking, and the character of the speeches which I heard. There was nothing of the slightest importance going on, nor any scope for talent or eloquence, so that the general tone and manner are all that I had an opportunity of judging of. At the same time, I am told that this is not a fair specimen of a Canadian parliament; a large proportion of the gentry in Upper Canada having been averse to the union, and to Lord Sydenham's measures generally, he determined to keep them out of the House, and being extremely able, and not very scrupulous in his use of means, he generally succeeded; the result has been the introduction of an undue proportion of members from the lower ranks of society. They are paid two dollars a day for their expenses during the session, and one of the discussions which I heard was upon a motion made by a member for sitting on Saturday, on the ground that the members have no right to give themselves an additional holiday in the week when they are paid by the day, including days on which business is not transacted. I thought there was a good deal of truth in what he said; but, as you may suppose, his motion was unanimously scouted.

I have been holding a regular levee ever since I arrived at Kingston, of emigrants from the

parishes of C—— and K——. Several of them are not only sentimental about the old country, but inclined to grumble about want of employment here. I tell them all to go "back," and not remain in the crowded ports; if they have not energy enough for that, they should go to Toronto or Hamilton, which are much better places than Kingston. If the seat of government be removed to Montreal, and the St. Lawrence canal completed, both of which are likely to take place soon, the forced and rapid progress which Kingston has lately been making, will be stopped at once; sea-going vessels will then run direct to the lakes, without the necessity of transhipment, and having no important "back country," to depend upon, it will be left almost entirely on one side by the great commercial stream.

LETTER XIV.

ISLE AUX NOIX.

DESCENT OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RAPIDS.—BILL JOHNSON, THE PIRATE.—ISLE AUX NOIX.—OUT-QUARTERS IN CANADA.—DESERTION AMONG THE SOLDIERY.—FIELD-SPORTS IN FOREST COUNTRIES.—CHANCES OF EMPLOYMENT FOR LABOURERS.—PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC EMIGRANTS.—LOVE OF MONEY CHARACTERISTIC OF THE POPULATION IN A NEW COUNTRY.—NECESSITY OF COUNTERACTING IT.—LAW OF SUCCESSION.—LOYALTY.—REASONS WHY THE CANADIANS SHOULD DESIRE A CONTINUANCE OF BRITISH CONNECTION.—FLOURISHING CONDITION OF CANADA.—ITS PROGRESS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE UNITED STATES.—FREE TRADE WITH ENGLAND.—TEMPORARY DEPRESSION OF COMMERCE.

Isle aux Noix, October.

On Monday at 2 o'clock I embarked on board the Charlotte steamer, a wretched little flour-boat, with an engine of fifteen horse power and twenty five years old, to go down the St. Lawrence rapids. This route, though now the ordinary one, was never taken by steamers till this year; there is now a line of small boats which make the entire round, starting from Montreal, going up the Ottawa to Bytown, thence by the Rideau to Kingston, and then down the St. Lawrence to Montreal. The mail still goes by the large steamers,

which correspond with a line of stages at every portage, but passengers generally prefer going down the rapids, as being quicker, less troublesome, and cheaper, besides the excitement attending upon a "feat." By going down the last rapid at La Chine, the steamers forfeit their insurance; consequently only one or two do so, and these do not insure; the others go by the La Chine canal to Montreal.

There were but two cabin passengers besides myself, both of whom I was slightly acquainted with; the weather was beautiful, and altogether it would have been impossible to have had a pleasanter voyage. The rapids are four in number, the Long Sault, the Cedars, the Cascades, and La Chine: all of them are to a novice very formidable-looking; at the last, in particular, there is a pitch which fairly lifts the stern of the boat, and plunges her bow into the spray, so as to cover the deck with water; but it having been once ascertained that she will live through it, there is no farther danger than that of missing the channel, which is narrow, and running on the rocks at either side of it. We took in an Indian pilot at each rapid: these fellows have been in the habit of taking down timber rafts and bateaux, and are now employed by the steamers. A barge was lost last week from the foolhardiness of the cap-

tain, who refused to take in a pilot; and indeed there is no water to spare even in the channel at this time of year: our boat, which only drew three feet ten inches, is the largest that attempts it, and though provided with the best possible pilotage, we struck once slightly; I confess to a momentary palpitation, when I felt the bump, for we were going at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour, but it was merely a scrape, showing, however, that it is "touch and go." But we were made to arrange ourselves in regular positions on deck, so as to keep the vessel on an even keel, and the steam was slackened to half speed, as we went down the rapids. The accommodations on board these little steamers are of course wretched; I spent almost the whole night, which was moonlight and beautiful, on deck.

At French Creek, where we landed for a few minutes, we saw the notorious Bill Johnson, the pirate of the lakes, who infested the Thousand Islands for two summers, and burned, as you may remember, the "Sir Robert Peel" steamer at one of her "wooding-stations." His object seems to have been, not so much plunder, as hostility to the British government, under which he was born, but against which he conceived himself to have grounds of complaint. It is strange that in these days of civilisation and new police such a notorious

depredator should be living at large close to the very scene of his outrages, and obviously not only well received by persons in his own class of society, but considered rather a lion and a hero. I cannot imagine a locality better selected for a pirate's occupation than the creeks and channels of the Thousand Islands; and the deficient arrangements for mutual restitution of offenders gave him always a secure retreat on the American shore.

At Montreal I most fortunately met in the street my friend H. W., who was on his way from England to join his regiment, and spent the day with him to my great satisfaction. He describes the scenery "south," on the Hudson and Lake Champlain, as perfectly beautiful, from the gorgeous colouring of the woods; I can well imagine it from what I see here. The frosts we have had lately (at Kingston there was ice every morning on the pools) have given the trees their autumn tints already to a great extent, and every day adds to their beauty. The cold weather has come unusually early and severely; the days are *now* generally fine and pretty warm, but the nights are very cold, and we have had a great deal of rain and wind. Montreal, like all the Canadian towns, is full of troops; uniforms predominating so much as quite to remind one of continental Europe: they have had, I think, 18,000 men of

all arms in the province since the rebellion, but this year the number is to be greatly reduced. It is lamentable to see the amount of drunkenness among the private soldiers in these colonial quarters: I have watched them going home to the barracks at night, and I am sure hardly one in five, on an average, is *quite* sober: there is certainly great temptation, from idleness, command of money, and want of inducement and facility for saving it.

On Wednesday I dined with the 85th, and slept at St. John's, where they are quartered; yesterday came up the Richelieu, to Isle aux Noix*, by the American steamer, and am now established in the barracks on the island, which are very good.

The fort, which was built to command the navigation of the Richelieu, is from its position very defensible, though the works are not regular, and it is the last of our posts in the direction of the frontier. At Rouse's Point, about ten miles off, the American territory begins. The island is about a mile round and entirely marsh. There are no buildings on it but those belonging to the fort, including a small church, where service is per-

* The French gave this name of Isle aux Noix not only to this place, but to the peninsula formed by the rivers Mississippi and Wabash. It is now corrupted into "Illinois."

formed by a clergyman from L'Acadie, a village nine miles off. The river Richelieu is very broad and deep, constituting the outlet from Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence: the navigation is interrupted by the Rapids at St. John's; but there is a small steamer running from Chambly, about twelve miles below it, to Sorel. The shores are low and marshy, and there is hardly any current, which makes it very well adapted for boating; but the country all about it, and between St. John's and Montreal, is the most wretched in Canada; indeed, far from being surprised that it is neglected by settlers, I only wonder what can induce any one to stay there. The natural scenery, the farming, the houses, the people (who are almost all French), are far below any thing else that is to be seen in this part of North America; and one is quite mortified by the idea that this is the first specimen of her Majesty's dominions which an American meets with. To the eastward, on the contrary, there is a very fine country, I am told, of which I must try to get a glimpse before I go south (one always talks by the compass here, which sounds extensive and fine).

I should think this was a very pleasant summer quarter, being cheap and independent. There is plenty of boating, and some shooting, though by no means as good as I had heard. In winter it must be

dull enough, as of course there is no attempt at society, and except in a sleigh, and wrapped up in furs, it is impossible to stir out, owing to the extreme severity of the cold; in fact, except when the ice is sufficiently clear of snow to admit of skating, exercise must be almost given up, for there is not much temptation to toil about in snow-shoes without an object, when the thermometer is below zero.

There goes the gun from St. John's, announcing a desertion, and warning the frontier posts to be on the look-out. Frequent as desertions are on the frontier, I believe almost all the delinquents would come back if they were sure of pardon. A soldier generally gets on very badly, at least for some time, in any other line of life: he is so accustomed to be provided for, that he is quite helpless and improvident, and a large proportion of our deserters enlist in the American service in despair, though it is notoriously a harder one than ours. One belonging to the regiment which was here last year came back after some time, and surrendered himself, knowing that he would be punished, which had, as you may suppose, the effect of preventing any more desertions for some time in that corps; there is also a great risk of being apprehended, as a reward of five pounds is given for each fugitive brought in, which makes the coun-

try people, as well as the guards on the frontier, very active in pursuit of them; still desertion goes on to a considerable extent, and is greatly encouraged by the Americans on the borders, who tell the soldiers all sorts of stories about the prospects open to them. Those to whom the greatest temptations are offered are the members of the bands: they generally succeed in obtaining high wages as musicians in orchestras and bands at watering-places; yet this year the commanding officer of one of our regiments took his full band to a considerable distance through the state of New York with a pleasure-party. They went down Lake George to Saratoga, and returned without losing a man; such was the feeling of honour which their commander's confidence in them excited. I was told that the astonishment of the Americans was unbounded.

I have been out shooting two or three times, but with very indifferent success. There are a good number of ducks hereabouts, but they are very difficult to get at, and the woodcock-shooting, of which I had heard a great deal, proved almost a complete failure. I went up the South River one day in a log canoe*, paddled by a hunter,

* These canoes, which are hollowed pine logs, simply, are capital instruments for duck-shooting, they draw so little water, and are so noiselessly worked; besides, as the

(all game pursuers are "hunters" here, this man, consequently, was a duck-hunter,) and though I tried a great deal of likely-looking ground, I got but very few shots, either at ducks or snipes. The fact is, that in this, as in all thinly-peopled forest countries, there are such vast tracts of waste land, and the game is consequently scattered over such a surface, that except where it is very plentiful indeed, from the nature of the ground and the total absence of hunters, one hardly ever gets such good sport as in old countries, where all the game is concentrated in a few spots, and your only difficulty is to know these and preserve them. Hence good sport is rare, both in Scandinavia and in America, generally speaking. I remember being told by Mr. Lloyd (author of "Northern Field Sports"), whom I met in Sweden, that he never shot more than four woodcocks in one day in that country; and in every kind of wild shooting Canada, *in general*, is far inferior to Ireland or Scotland. The best shooting decidedly is at wild-fowl, and the best quarters for it are about Sandwich on Lake St. Clair, and Long

paddler sits facing the bow, he can look before him, drop his paddle, and take to his gun in a moment, when he gets within shot. It is, however, desperately fatiguing to one who is not accustomed to it, for he works entirely by muscle, and not, as with oars, in a great measure by weight.

Point on Lake Erie. At both these places very good sport is to be had, but it is necessary to undergo a good deal of hardship for it. At Long Point, last October, four men, two of whom I know, bagged in twelve days 750 ducks, and lost, they said, nearly as many more. They took their servants and provisions to an island in the lake, and went out every day and all day. At Amherstburgh, too, near Sandwich, I have heard of forty couple being killed by a single gun in a day, but I know no other part of Canada where very great sport is to be had. There is an immense variety of wild fowl; out of a bag of twenty, perhaps no two will be of the same species: the most common are the black duck, which is larger, and the wood duck, which is smaller than our wild duck. The latter is found along the wooded banks of rivers, and sometimes alights *upon* trees, where it also builds its nest, though its feet are webbed nearly like those of other water-fowl.* Quails are tolerably plentiful to the west of Toronto; there are none in Lower Canada. Woodcocks are also found in considerable numbers, but give very uncertain sport — they are here to-day and gone to-morrow. The best shooting I have heard

* There is a slight difference, no web being attached to the *hinder* claw.

of this year was twenty-nine brace and a half killed by three guns: this was near Hamilton, and entirely in Indian corn, hunted with setters. The American woodcock affords, in my opinion, at best very indifferent sport: his flight is like that of a jack-snipe, and you can almost always mark him down, as he seldom flies more than 100 or 150 yards. He is a good deal smaller than the European variety, but precisely similar in flavour. The best snipe-shooting I have heard of is at Sorel, on the St. Lawrence, but it is also very uncertain, and decidedly inferior to our own in Ireland. The only birds which remain all the winter are partridges and snow-birds, and in the west a few wild turkeys: the partridge is very like a hen-pheasant in size and plumage: when sprung, he flies invariably to a tree, from whence it is impossible to dislodge him, so if you can see him, which is difficult, you shoot him sitting. Wild turkeys are tracked in the snow, and stalked like deer with rifles: they show excellent sport, but are very scarce in our provinces. All the other varieties of game disappear during the winter, and go off to the southward, so that the shooting months here are August, September, and October. What they call hares are more like our rabbits in shape and colour; but they do not burrow, and their flesh is brown. In the southern states they are called

rabbits. There are very few moose south of the St. Lawrence, and none so far to the south-westward as the Richelieu. On the whole, Amherstburgh is the best sporting quarter in Canada: you have ducks, snipes, woodcocks, quails, wild turkeys, and deer there; and within 100 miles to the westward prairie-fowl are found, which resemble in habits our grouse, and show very good sport.

I have just received a large packet of letters from home, among others, one from you. I have incidentally answered almost all your questions, and must repeat, as I have said before, and notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary which are continually made, that there is not only not a superfluity, but not a sufficiency of labour in the colony yet. The continual changing of situations shows the independence of servants, and their general certainty of employment, while the rate of wages and the scale of comfort which is considered necessary, proves that there is not sufficient competition to reduce either. While these remain as they are, I care not how many instances may be produced of individuals at particular localities complaining of want of employment, or even of large numbers returning to the old country in disgust and despair. These *must* result either from misconduct, such as habitual drunkenness, or, which is more commonly the case, from want of

the knowledge and energy requisite for bringing their labour to the right places. Where workmen, already getting two shillings a day, are striking for an advance to two and sixpence *, and where every labourer eats meat two or three times a day, it is absurd to say that there can be a superfluity of labour: if it were so, what should hinder employers from getting men at eighteen-pence a day, who would be content to eat meat once? I admit that the rate of wages will not always accommodate itself immediately to the proportion of the supply to the demand, but as a permanent and habitual state of things it must do so. People come out here almost expecting to find gold in the streets; and if at the first port they come to they do not get immediate employment at the wages which those already employed are receiving, they will neither go off into the country nor offer their services at a lower price, but either proceed into the States or return home again.

To make sure of *immediate* employment (and this with the poorer emigrants is most important), a man should sail so as to arrive at harvest-time, when he will almost every where be caught up, and when wages are highest. He will find no

* This was the case the other day at the Beauharnois canal, and was the proximate cause of the riots that took place there.

difficulty during August and September in getting a dollar a day and his board, and before winter comes he ought to have a good deal of money laid by. In winter "chopping" is the principal business; and as many emigrants have not skill or hardihood for the bush at first, and farm-work is scarce, a man who came out late might find difficulty in getting employment; besides the severity of the climate requires him, particularly if he have a family, to lay in a stock of warm clothing, fuel, and other comforts, so that he ought to have money by him before the cold weather sets in; after the first winter all is plain sailing, if his health lasts. I have known but few with whom the climate seriously disagrees.*

The Protestant and Roman Catholic emigrants do not amalgamate at all, nor do I see any appearance of a more friendly feeling between them here than at home; they do not, however, come so much into collision, for they generally adopt different lines of life. The Protestants become farm-labourers, or domestic servants in good families,

* There is an excellent little tract, called "Information for Emigrants to British North America, published by Authority," and which every body wishing to come out ought to consult; the emigration agents, too, give every sort of advice and assistance to those who land at the different ports, supplying with provisions, and forwarding to their destination those who are in a state of destitution. This department seemed to me very well managed.

for a time, but always aim at settling, as soon as possible, on land of their own, while the Roman Catholics, who are invariably of the poorest class, constitute, for the most part, as in the States, the Pariah caste, or "prolétaires:" they are the porters, carters, waiters at inns, &c., and above all, they monopolise almost entirely the public works, which absorb a great portion of the labouring population in this country; numbers also go to the States, so that comparatively few proceed up the country and settle upon farms: those who do, keep very much together, and the Protestant and Roman Catholic townships are quite distinctly marked, and exclusively occupied by the respective parties. In Kingston, Toronto, and all the larger towns of Upper Canada, the Protestants — in Montreal and Quebec, on the contrary, the Roman Catholics are much the more numerous body; the latter are not, however, looked upon so favourably by the British Canadians, nor do they find it so easy to get employment in gentlemen's families as the Protestants.

Both parties of Irish behaved very well during the rebellion, and are considered very loyal and well affected; while the Scotch, on the contrary, are the most radical population, and the least relied upon by the friends of government, in Canada. In the case of the Roman Catholics, this

is attributed to the influence of the priests (and particularly the Bishop of Montreal), who have a great, and, as far as their own interests are concerned, a just horror of Americanism. They have the sense to perceive, that neither their influence nor their property could be preserved for six months after the Canadas were annexed to the States: they know that republicanism and church authority (in whatever form represented and exercised) are antagonist powers; and with respect to Romanism in particular, the burning of the nunnery at Boston a few years ago proved a salutary lesson. In this respect they are far wiser than their Irish brethren, who ally themselves with the radical and revolutionary spirit, for the purpose of keeping up their influence for the present, and in the hope of continuing to exercise it, after what they consider the obstacles to its predominance are removed. They deceive themselves completely: if they succeed in effecting the revolution which they aim at, and which must eventuate in arming the poor against the rich, *i. e.* inverting and disorganising society altogether, they will find that they have raised a demon, which they will not have the power to lay, and that the spirit of rebellion and anarchy, once excited, will throw of all restraint and all authority, ecclesiastical as well as political. It has been so in France, in South

America, and in Spain. The case of the last-mentioned country is particularly curious and instructive, for Spain was considered the most superstitious and priest-ridden country in the world. Within the last twenty years the revolutionary spirit has grown up there, and become finally successful and predominant, and precisely in the same proportion has the influence of the church decreased. In 1836 (I think) Mendizabal's famous decree went forth, and the whole church property, consecrated by the prescription of ages, was confiscated at once. Since that time, it is said that the priests have hardly received any part of the salary that was promised to them: they have generally disappeared, or sunk to the lowest pitch of destitution, and almost the whole of the Spanish male population is now avowedly infidel. This is an extreme case, for it is the re-action from a contrary extreme; still it affords a pregnant illustration of tendencies. Of course I do not by any means intend to insinuate, that a result similar in degree to this would occur, if republican principles became victorious in Canada; but I do say, as I say of the United States generally (places where a constant stream of Roman Catholic emigration is kept up being of course exceptions), that it would not be a pleasant country for priests.

The worst feature of the population here is one necessarily characteristic of a new country, namely, their love of money. There is such a field for making money, so few that have enough, that to make it appears to a degree, of which we have no notion at home, the absorbing object of every body. Now, if a generous, gentleman-like, spending class, be as important an element in society as a getting class, it is very desirable that correctives should be created (or at least not removed), which may tend to prevent the latter from monopolising Canada. The ultra-commercial spirit, and the vices which accompany it, are the besetting sins of the age, and are peculiarly observable in the British race, not only in America, but at home. In England they are still modified and controlled; but in Canada, as in the United States, they appear likely to flourish with unchecked luxuriance, and threaten to debase permanently the standard of national character. It should then be the leading object, with all who influence in any way the public mind, not merely government, but authors, teachers, parents, to encourage every disposition, and adopt every measure, of the opposite kind. Such, for example, are the laws relating to property: the effect which they produce, not only upon political institutions, but upon character and habits of life, is immense,

and should be deeply considered by those politicians who advocate the abolition of the law of primogeniture in Canada. That law cannot, humanly speaking (for a great length of time at least), lead to any undue accumulation of property. The feudal habits which tend to induce such a result with us have hardly any existence among the class from which this country is peopled; and the neighbourhood of the States, with the influence and example which it affords, will prevent them from growing up to any injurious extent. The danger is all the other way: a race of hereditary landed proprietors is wanted, not merely as a permanent spending class, who may have a fixed social position, and, consequently, leisure and money to employ in the promotion of arts, literature, and religion, the cultivation of which it is difficult to reconcile with habitual money-making, but also as a conservative stationary element, as a drag upon the wheel of commercial radicalism.

I am inclined to admit that the opposite system, that of subdivision, increases the aggregate productiveness, and is more favourable to commerce generally, nor do I think that it *necessarily induces* the evils which I apprehend for this country (for example, it does not seem to have produced them in Norway); but I am sure, that where, as in America, the tendency to them exists, it power-

fully assists and aggravates that tendency, and if so, its financial advantages should be disregarded. If the law be altered, the custom will, it is probable, invariably attend and give effect to it; if it be preserved, on the contrary, the custom is likely to modify and correct its operation. Every thing tends to democracy in Canada: take away British institutions, and you leave that tendency unchecked.

In estimating the prevailing habits and feelings of Canada, we must not forget that as yet they are, to a great extent, formed and leavened by the continual importation of emigrants, who come imbued with those of a different state of society; otherwise we can hardly judge of the extent to which American influences prevail, and of the necessity for keeping them in check. I have mentioned one of the means which appear to me desirable for that purpose; another obviously consists in the mode of education which should be adopted. M. de Tocqueville recommends the study of classical authors, as peculiarly fitted to counteract the faults in taste which distinguish a democratic age, from the careful, finished style of their composition: he might have added, that the standard which they hold up, though in many respects defective, has also many excellences which the spirit of our age is disposed to overlook.

The tendency of the Greek and Roman philosophy is decidedly anti-material; its τὸ ἀγαθὸν, its ideal of happiness, is not wealth or power, but the utmost extent of spiritualisation of which man is capable — contemplation, austerity, self-command. So, also, the motives to action which the ancients put forward were at least supersensual: they were, love of fame, patriotism, sense of honour, not self-interest in the material sense of the word, as in the systems of Bentham, Franklin, and the modern moralists. There is a severe simplicity about the antique model which is opposed most strongly to the tastes and habits of a commercial age and country, and which for that very reason should be studied by those who endeavour to attain the "mean."*

But the most important corrective to the evil tendencies of a commercial age, as to every other evil to which our nature is liable, consists in the teaching of the Church, and more peculiarly (in the present circumstances) in that aspect of her teaching which may be called, distinctively, Catholic. I speak not merely, as M. de Tocqueville most forcibly and truly does, of keeping the dogma of immortality and moral government bebefore the minds of those who are constantly tempted to forget the invisible and the eternal

* I see this point well treated in an able review of M. de Tocqueville.—Ed. Rev. vol. lxxii.

in the untiring pursuit of wealth; I speak of inculcating those doctrines and practices which are commonly called superstitious and formal, and unsuited to the temper of the age. It is precisely because they are so "unsuited" that they are so necessary to it. Is every member of such a society bent upon getting more, upon rising in the world, upon adding house to house, and field to field? The Church denounces woe upon all such; she preaches that riches are a positive evil; that a man is worse off for having them; and leaves us to reconcile it as we may with the duty of providing for our family, and of putting them forward in the world, with all the good which we say we can do if we can but become rich, and so on. She tells us, that, having food and raiment, we should be therewith content; and to "take no thought, saying, What shall we drink? or wherewithal shall we be clothed?" Does the "passion *du bien-être matériel*" (to use M. de Tocqueville's words) absorb every mind? She recommends austerities, self-denials, alms-givings, voluntary abandonment of domestic comfort, in order to "serve the Lord without distraction." In every thing the tastes and habits of a Catholic churchman are opposed to those of a money-making age, and in a money-making age should therefore be most insisted on; and it is, perhaps, a providential appointment

that, at a time when seemingly most wanted, a re-action in their favour appears to have sprung up in Protestant Christendom.

I have sometimes heard the question argued, as to whether the "loyalty" so much talked of by Canadians is a chivalrous, disinterested feeling of attachment to the sovereign, as the representative and impersonation of the authority set over them by God, or a cold, calculating spirit, unconnected with honour or religion, and dependent for its continuance upon their idea of the benefits resulting from British connection, or at best an abstract preference of a monarchical over a republican form of government? Now, probably, with regard to this matter, the case is much the same here as in England; what goes by the name of loyalty consists with a few individuals in the former, with the great majority in the latter feeling. I have but little faith in the existence now to any great extent of the kind of loyalty, which raised the Highlands for the Stuarts, and the Vendée for the Bourbons; it was essentially a religious principle, and intimately connected with the doctrine of hereditary right. At the Revolution of 1688 that doctrine was set aside; the people did not content themselves with resisting the unlawful commands of their king, but they changed the line of succession, and affixed conditions to the

future possession of the throne. From that moment their feeling towards their sovereign changed its nature: the new line derived its title not from Divine right founded on prescription, but from the people's choice; and it is not in the nature of man to regard the creation of his will with the sentiment of religious veneration, which is yielded to an authority claiming to be derived from an independent and paramount source.* For a long time the nation retained the impress of its old spirit — "*servabit odorem testa diu*," — and besides, the principle, as Burke elaborately contends, was preserved in theory, though virtually neutralised by the precedent of so important an exception; but it appears to me that the victory of Whig principles which was then consummated has now nearly worked itself out, and produced its legitimate effect, and that, in fact, the new symbol of the anti-democratic party, viz. Conservatism, accurately expresses the principle which

* I would not be supposed to argue against the lawfulness of resisting James's unlawful proceedings; on the contrary, as I know that a British sovereign has "articled with the people," and is, consequently, as much bound by the conditions of the contract as they are, so I believe it to follow, that he may be prevented (by force, if necessary) from violating that contract. Nor am I at present canvassing the rightfulness or expediency of the course adopted in placing a foreign prince upon the throne — I speak only of its effects upon national loyalty.

has taken the place of loyalty. There is, no doubt, at this moment a wide-spread and deep-rooted attachment to the person of the Queen; for human nature, when not utterly hardened, yearns for objects of veneration, and gladly seizes an opportunity of yielding it: but I am convinced that that attachment depends upon the personal qualifications and circumstances of the individual, not upon her commission as God's anointed, and is plainly to be distinguished from the feeling which induced Prynne on the scaffold to pray for the king by whose orders he was suffering, and thousands to "follow to the last gasp with love and loyalty" men of whom they knew nothing, or knew only that they were unworthy and wicked. But this is a digression into which I have been led by a conversation which I have just had with a distinguished Canadian, who maintained that the old original loyalty still exists here. I impugned his position, and, upon reflection, think that I might have extended my view of the question to the rest of the British dominions.

But putting this out of the question, there remain to Canada as bonds of union with Great Britain, 1st, the principle of submission for conscience' sake to the powers that be; 2dly, that of regard and attachment felt by the colonists to the mother-country, and pride in being identified with

her history; and, 3dly, a sense of the benefits resulting from the connexion. Now, as to the first, without going the length of Mr. Stephen, who seems to treat with utter contempt the idea that in this enlightened age, and particularly in the New World, any body could be influenced by so old-fashioned a notion, I fear that, whether in the Old World or the New, it is impossible to rely upon it as very deeply or generally entertained. We live in an age, not of faith, but of "enlightened self-interest" (noble principle!); and I doubt the operation to any great extent of religious motives for any thing. The second principle which I have mentioned is still powerfully influential in Upper Canada. Whatever may have been the merits or faults of Sir Francis Head, he at least revealed and elicited an enthusiasm in favour of England, which was never dreamt of in the philosophy of the economists. The American sympathisers were fully convinced that they had nothing to do but erect the banner of independence and fraternisation in Canada, and that the province would at once eagerly throw off the yoke—but that delusion at least is at an end. There is a wide difference between discontent with the policy of England and ripeness for separation and republicanism. This attachment to England, however, though still strongly felt, and capable of

being indefinitely increased and preserved, has a natural tendency to become weaker in the course of years, as the proportion of native Canadians to emigrants increases, and the relative importance of the province to the mother-country becomes greater, and offers in consequence more strongly the temptation of establishing a distinctive nationality. But, independently of any feeling of loyalty or attachment, the Canadians feel strongly the interest which they have in the connexion: England furnishes troops to protect them, lends money to their public works, and admits their pork, flour, and timber, at low duties. Now, I foresee that this bond also will be considerably weakened within no remote period. England is obviously tending towards free trade with all nations, as far as they will allow her; and it is out of the question to suppose that she will permanently keep up differential duties for the benefit of her colonies; nor can any one say how long the colonists may *think* (whether justly or not) that they benefit by their connexion with England: there will always be plausible arguments for the discontented. For my part I cannot look forward to a permanent and satisfactory arrangement of the relation between Canada and England, except under the form of complete amalgamation, so that the former should be considered in every respect as an integral part of the empire,

represented in her parliament, contributing to her revenue and to her naval and military establishment; nor do I see that to such a scheme, now that steam has brought the two continents so near to each other, any greater objections can be brought than would have applied to Caithness 140, or to Kerry and Mayo 40 years ago. As the representative system is at present applied, it is certainly defective, and presents no security for working well: the imperial and provincial legislatures must occasionally come into collision, as did the English and Irish parliaments during the short period of their independence (from 1782 to 1800), and then a suspension of the constitution, or some equally strong measure, is rendered necessary, which is as great an infraction of the "principles of constitutional government," as the permanent authority of an irresponsible governor.

Mr. Hume and his school say, that it would be better to have no colonies; for that if there were free trade all over the world we should not want any control over their commerce, and their commerce is the only benefit we derive from them. Now, while we keep in mind the fact that there is not free trade, nor any prospect of free trade all over the world, and that we can have no security that our colonies, if independent, would not become not only rival but hostile powers, we may, at least,

allow so much force to these arguments as to admit that we by no means derive the full advantage from our colonies which we might do if we could treat them in every respect as fellow-citizens and fellow-subjects: the idea of doing so is then highly important, and should, I think, be more seriously considered than it hitherto has been.

In order to show the advantages which a country derives from republican institutions it has been for many years the fashion to point to the immense superiority asserted to be apparent on the American side of the border; and, amongst others, Lord Durham, in the most offensive manner, appears to exult in perpetually repeating the assertion. I arrived in Canada myself fully possessed by this idea, and prepared to see the most painful contrast between the condition of my countrymen and the Americans. As you may easily gather from my letters, I was most agreeably disappointed; nor can I conceive any other cause for the prevalence which the notion has obtained than that the wish was father to the thought in its first maintainers, and that others repeated what they had been told, without taking the trouble to test it by observation. It is curious, by-the-by, that M. de Tocqueville is almost the only writer who has done justice to Upper Canada (of which alone I am speaking); and he does so fully

though incidentally. I think, and have always said, that popular institutions, and the national character which they assist in forming, are eminently favourable to material prosperity; and I admit that the Americans are the best settlers and traders in the world, and "go a-head" faster than any other people: but that there is any thing like the immense and palpable difference which Lord Durham insists upon, I utterly deny—nay, I think it even doubtful whether the slower system may not be the surer, and whether in the end the tortoise may not beat the hare. There is no doubt a more rapid growth of wealth and population on the southern than on the northern shore of the lakes, but not by any means more so than may be accounted for without any reference to political causes. If Canada, for example, were attached to the west of Ireland, so that there were no Atlantic to be crossed, no difference of institutions, circumstances, soil, climate, involving change of habits and mode of life altogether, to be met with by those who wished to settle there, it is impossible to over-estimate the rapidity with which it would be peopled, and its resources developed. And such being precisely the position of the Western States, with respect to the rest of the Union, it is evidently unfair to compare them with a country whose supplies of capital and labour are derived

from such a distance, and to found an argument as to the comparative advantages of their forms of government upon such a comparison.

But even without reference to this consideration of the geographical disadvantages under which she labours, I maintain that Upper Canada need not, at this moment, shrink from a comparison, *as to the use which she has made of the means at her disposal*, with the *contemporary* States of the Union. We must not forget that the prosperity of America, her railroads, canals, steam navigation, and banks, are the fruit of English capital, and that that capital has not been repaid. England has sunk nearly 40,000,000*l.* in the States; and it is impossible to avoid reflecting how profitably and *securely* a great part of this enormous sum might have been spent in assisting our own countrymen. America was all the rage; her resources were unbounded, the energies of her people invincible; and nothing but the judicious application of capital was required to develope and assist them. Such was the story told by the agents whom the States sent over to negotiate loans in England; and their success was such as to astonish themselves: money was absolutely pressed upon them, and generally on terms greatly more advantageous than those which they were authorised to accept. Under these circumstances how can we blame

them for taking all they could get, and vaguely hoping that they should be able to repay it? Well, as long as the borrowed money lasted, all looked well and flourishing; and any interest, ten, fifteen per cent., was punctually paid: by degrees, however, as the works came into operation, it was found that there was not trade in the country to support them; the money was sunk, the interest due, the profits deficient; and then came the trial of the people's honesty. Alas! in too many cases the result speaks for itself: they refused to tax themselves, either boldly denying that they were bound by the acts of their constituted authorities or, while admitting the debt, refusing to make provision for its payment.

On the other hand, hardly a shilling of English capital has found its way into this province: six per cent. on the best security might readily have been obtained. But no — Canada was too slow a coach; the capitalists preferred the giant republic's gigantic promises, and they have had their reward. The reaction is now taking place; the bubble has burst; and the steady equable flow of public prosperity on the Canadian side of the water is as remarkable as the stagnation, distrust, depression, and gloom upon the American. I do not for a moment believe that the present state of things will last. The distress of the States is as unnatural

as was their prosperity: the total absence of commercial credit is but the temporary result of that exaggerated banking system which forced and supported trade. I believe also in the unconquerable energy, in the unlimited resources of the Americans, as fully as any of themselves do; I only deprecate as unfair a comparison between Canada and the States during their unnatural advance, just as I should now, during their unnatural prostration. The stream of emigration which has heretofore flowed from Canada into the States while their great public works were in progress has now begun to flow back again, as those works have been either completed or discontinued*; and the English public are becoming more alive to the advantages and capabilities of Canada, so that we may hope that the capital and labour requisite for their development will be more freely supplied. Two measures are especially requisite with a view to this end — free trade with England, and the establishment of a good system of land sales. The first, it is now hoped, will be immediately obtained, on condition of the provincial parliament imposing

* It appears from the reports of the emigration agents that 9500 persons returned during the year 1842 to Europe from the port of New York alone; while (as far as can be ascertained) only fifty or sixty did so from Canada.

a proportionate duty on American wheat; and if so, an immense stimulus will be given to the agricultural interest and to the carrying trade of the St. Lawrence. The American papers are already full of anticipations as to the effects which such a measure would have upon the Erie canal.

The second presents great difficulties, from the manner in which the old systems have operated in promoting the accumulation of wild land in the hands of land-jobbers and absentees, and the difficulty, without encroaching on the right of property, of making them dispose of it or turn it to account. The plan adopted by the municipal councils in some districts of taxing wild land, though involving a dangerous principle, will probably be effectual, and by degrees force those who cannot clear to sell their land. In disposing of church and crown lands something analogous to the American system must be adopted.

Though, however, the general state of affairs in Canada is highly satisfactory, there is this year a considerable amount of distress consequent upon the alteration of the timber duties. I am convinced, as is every one here, that the colony will ultimately be benefited by it; but there must be great temporary losses: and it certainly appears to me that sufficient warning was not given. A vast stock of timber has been cut, and brought down to

Quebec, upon the natural supposition that the old prices would continue: the change is made, and the price falls nearly one half. Can it be wondered at that many merchants are unable to meet their engagements? There have been already five or six failures in Montreal; and many more are expected during the winter, It is the custom of the day to carry out the maxim of *salus populi suprema lex*, or, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," sound as it is, too indiscriminately, and to pass over as of no importance the vested rights of individuals. All the lumber-merchants wanted was time to dispose of the stock on hand; and that has been denied to them. There is already enough of timber for two years' consumption at Quebec, and yet they are going into the bush to a great extent this winter again. They tell me that they have shanties built, provisions laid in, and timber chopped, but not rafted, last year, all of which will be lost if they do not return into the woods. The unexpected excellence of the harvest, too, in England and Ireland, has been the cause of considerable losses here; merchants have exported flour to a great extent this "fall," and have not been able to get a price in England sufficient to cover what they paid here, and the duty, leaving the expenses of transportation a dead loss. Notwithstanding these causes

of temporary distress, however, I feel sure that every impartial and observant traveller will be surprised and delighted, as I was, at the appearances of prosperity which present themselves in Canada. By far the worst part of the province is this immediate neighbourhood.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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